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A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

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C. R. SINGHAL, *Bombay.*

A. K. NARAIN, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON).
Banaras Hindu University.

P. L. GUPTA, M. A.,
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

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PRE-MAURYAN PUNCH-MARKED COINAGE IN BIHAR

MADAN MOHAN SINGH

The Buddhist and the Brahmanical literary sources as well as the archaeological evidence throw considerable light on the coinage of Pre-Mauryan Bihar. The literary sources reveal that coins of various denominations were struck in gold, silver, and copper ; sometimes they were also minted in lead (*Sīsa*).

So far as the gold currency is concerned, as yet no specimens belonging to this period have been found either in Bihar or outside, and we have to rely only on the literary evidence. It refers to Nishka,[1] Suvarṇa[2] and Śatamāna[3] as the main denominations of the gold currency. References to transactions in the gold currency suggest that it was becoming more and more common during this period. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to the incident of the Jetavana being covered with gold coins,[4] of which we find also sculptural representation. This description may be taken as legendary. But Pāṇini tells us that objects bought for one, two or three Nishkas were known as *naishkikam, dvinaishkikam* and *trinaishkikam* respectively.[5] Persons owning wealth worth a hundred or a thousand Nishkas were known as *naishkaśatika* and *naishkasāhasrika* respectively.[6] Nishka, weighing 320 *rattis*, was too big a golden coin for daily use and its submultiples, quarter-Nishkas and Māshakas or 1/16 Nishkas, were also issued. In the *Udaya Jātaka* there is mention of the gold Māshakas.[7] Bhandarkar thinks that these were small medallic pieces of gold.[8] The *Sūtras* of Pāṇini make it clear that the term Suvarṇa was applied to gold coins.[9] In one of the *Sūtras* Pāṇini refers to pieces of gold equal to a standard weight.[10] We also come across the expression Hiraññа-Suvaṇṇa.[11] Hiraññа seems to have been applied to uncoined gold bullion. The term Śatamāna is referred to only by Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. Pāṇini shows that it was used as a medium of exchange, as he tells us that Śātamāna denoted an object

1. *Jātaka*, I. 375-76, IV. 460 ; *Pāṇini*, V. 1.30, V. 2.119.
2. *Jātaka*, VI. 69, 186, 462, 493.
3. *Pāṇini*, V. 1.27.
4. *Chullavagga*, IV. 7.
5. *Pāṇini*, V. 1. 30.
6. *Pāṇini*, V. 2.
7. *Jātaka*, IV. 106-8. सुवण्णमासकपुरां एकां सुवण्णपातिं ।
8. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921.
9. *Pāṇini*, VI. 2. 55.
10. *Pāṇini*, IV. 3. 153.
11. *Jātaka*, VI. 69, 462, 493.

bought for a Śatamāna.[1] Kātyāyana speaks of the *dakshiṇā* of golden Śatamānas.[2] As suggested by the name, the Śatamāna corresponded to the weight standard of 100 *rattis* = 175 grains.

The silver coins of the age were the Śatamānas and the Kārshāpaṇas (of 16 *Māshas* = 58·56 grains, which was 2/5th of the weight of Suvarṇa, i.e. the gold coin). Śatamāna, as silver currency, has been referred to by Kātyāyana, which shows that by the time of the *Srauta-Sūtras* (600 B.C.) silver Śatamāna had come into use. The bent bar coins are regarded as the specimens of this standard, but they have not yet been found in Bihar. The Paila hoard coins which adhere to the weight standard of 24 *rattis* seem to have been Pāda-Śatamānas. The literary evidence reveals that the standard currency of this period was the Kārshāpaṇa. It is accepted by almost all scholars that coins known as Kārshāpaṇas were current during the lifetime and before the birth of the Buddha and that they were closely associated with the economic life of the people. But there is a good deal of disagreement among scholars in accepting Kārshāpaṇa as a silver currency of the Pre-Mauryan period.

The view that Kārshāpaṇa was not a silver currency does not seem to be tenable. Karshāpaṇa was so called because theoretically in weight it corresponded to one Karsha[3], and this name was not restricted to coins of any metal; that there were Kārshāpaṇas of gold, silver and copper is revealed by the Buddhist and the Brahmanical sources. The *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā* speaks also of the lead Kahāpaṇa[4]. Amarasiṁha, the lexicographer also makes mention of silver Kārshāpaṇa, which according to the commentator Kshīrasvāmin, was of the weight standard of one *karsha* = 80 *rattis*[5]. Prices referred to in the Buddhist literature suggest that Kārshāpaṇa was a silver currency. That, the price of a pair of oxen was 24 Kārshāpaṇas, a horse 1000 Kārshāpaṇas and so on seems to suggest that the Kārshāpaṇa in which the prices are stated was a silver coin. No doubt prices were very cheap then, yet we can hardly imagine that the bull could have cost only 12 copper pieces. Bhandarkar has therefore observed that prices mentioned in the *Jātakas* must have been in silver coins, as copper or gold would be too low or too high price for animals[6]. The charge of Ambapālī as 50 Kahāpaṇas per night would appear to be correct in the case of the silver currency; copper would be too low for

1. *Pāṇini*, V. 1. 27. शतमानेन क्रीतं शातमानं ।
2. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Śūtra*, XVI. शतमानं दक्षिणा सौवर्णम् ।
3. Bhandarkar : *Carmichael Lectures*. 1921, pp. 83, 86.
4. Ibid, p. 142.
5. *J.N.S.I.* XIV, 131.
6. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 78.

a courtesan of the status of Ambapālī. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya speaks of the minting of the silver coins called Paṇa, Arddha-Paṇa, Pāda-Paṇa and of Ashṭabhāga Paṇa, and of copper coins called Māsha, Ardha-Māsha, Pāda-Māsha (Kākaṇi) and Ashṭabhāga-Māsha (Ardha-Kākaṇi)[1]. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane's view that Paṇa of Kauṭilya was a copper currency does not seem to be convincing. His main arguments are that (1) Manu, Yājñavalkya and Śukra refer to copper pieces as coins bearing stamps; (2) Manu states that a labourer was to be paid a Paṇa for a day ; (3) Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* mentions high figures as the salary of officials, which would not have been possible, had the currency been in other than the copper one ; (4) Nārada states that silver Kārshāpaṇas was current in the south. As regards the first and the second arguments it may be pointed out that silver and copper currencies were independent of each other and existed side by side, and it has already been seen that the name Kārshāpaṇa was applied to coins of all the metals in Ancient India. Kane lays much stress on the statement of Nārada that silver Kārshāpaṇas. were current in the south. But Nārada may be refering to his own time and one doubts whether his statement is true even of the 5th or 6th century A.D. Silver coins were not then current in South India. Kane maintains that fees and salaries referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* are too high, if Paṇa is accepted as a silver coin, for instance a *Mantrin* was paid 48,000 Paṇas per annum. But Kauṭilya states that the agricultural labourer was to be paid only 1¼ Paṇas per month supplemented by food[2]. Here Kauṭilya apparently speaks of the silver Paṇa (Kārshāpaṇa). The *Jātakas* speak of one or one and a half Māsakas as the earning of a menial labourer,[3] which is very near to the above account of the *Arthaśāstra*, according to which 2/3 Māsaka was the daily wage of a labourer. When the *Arthaśāstra* states that 48000 Paṇas was the salary of a Mantrin, it seems to suggest a copper currency, but when it tells us that the labourer got 1¼ Paṇas as monthly wage, it speaks of a silver coin. And it is difficult to come to a conclusion. Probably both silver and copper Kārshāpaṇas were current.

Large finds of silver punch-marked coins of the Pre-Mauryan and the Mauryan periods found throughout Bihar and outside would support the literary evidence that silver currency was in vogue during our period. It should be accepted that the Kahāpaṇas of the Buddhist sources, Kārshāpaṇas of the Brahmanical evidence, Paṇas of Pāṇini and the *Arthaśāstra* are the silver punch-marked coins which conform to the 32 *rattis* standard.

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1. *Kauiṭlya*, II. 12. 2. *Kauṭilya*, II. 24. 3. *Jātaka*, III. 325-6.

Silver punch-marked coins have been found in large numbers throughout India and Afghanistan. Bihar has yielded several hoards such as the Golakhpur,[1] Patraha,[2] Machhuatoli,[3] Ramna,[4] Gorhoghat,[5] and so on which have been studied and published by different scholars. Punch-marked coins have been also found at Bhagalpur[6], Belwa[7], Tareghna[8], Bodha-Gayā[9], Dharawat[10], Chaibasa[11], the Patna excavations[12], and the recent excavations of ancient sites in Bihar. The hoards found in Bihar as well as outside show that the punch-marked coins fall into two distinct categories of the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan currencies, and that the circulation of these silver pieces during our period cannot be doubted. The Golakhpur hoard of 108 coins and the Ramna hoard of 48 coins have been assigned to the Pre-Mauryan age by Walsh on convincing grounds. 709 out of 2873 coins of the Patraha hoard[13] and one third of the Machhuatoli hoard fall under the category of the Pre-Mauryan currency. Recently Drs. Dani and Narain have raised a doubt as regards the attribution of these coins to the Pre-Mauryan period.[14] According to them it is erroneous to determine the Pre-Mauryan character of the silver punch-marked coins on the basis of the Bhir Mound hoard alone. They rely on the stratigraphical evidence and maintain that both the hoards of Bhir Mound were deposited in one period and that one of them need not be regarded as necessarily containing Pre-Mauryan currency. It may be accepted that both the Bhir mound hoards were buried in the Post-Mauryan period as suggested by Dani[15] and Narain[16]; but this would not lead to the conclusion that they do not contain Pre-Mauryan coins. They may have been buried centuries after their being minted. The worn out condition of the coins regarded as Pre-Mauryan points out to their being in long circulation. On the basis of numismatic evidence as held by several scholars these hoards would be placed in *c.* 323-35 and 250 B.C. respectively.[17] The earlier hoard contains two coins of Alexander the Great, one of Philip Aridaues and one Achaemenid siglos, on the basis of which the hoard is assigned to *c.* 300 B. C. Another hoard contains a coin of Diodotus which puts the

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1. *J.B.O.R S.* 1919. pp. 16-72.
2. *Memoir* No. 62 of the *A.S.I.* 1940.
3. *J.B O R S.* 1939, pp. 91-117.
4. *J.B.O.R.S.*, loc. cit.
5. Ibid 1919, pp. 463-94.
6. *A.S.R.* XV, pp. 31-32.
7. *A.S.R.* 1918-19, pp. 16 f.
8. *A.S.R.* 1925-26, p. 168.
9. *A S.R.* XVI, p. IV.
10. *A.S R.* XVI.
11. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* 1885, p. 126.
12. Ratan Tata Excavations (*A.S,R.* 1912-13) and the recent Excavations.
13. The above No. is according to Walsh's classification. According to P. L. Gupta there are only 341 coins of the Pre-Mauryan type in the Patraha hoard.
14. *J.N.S.I.* XVII, pp. 27-32 ; *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 99ff.
15. Op. cit. 16 Op. cit. 17. *J.A.S.B.* 1937, *N. S.* No XLVII.

hoard in *c.* 250 B. C. If we regard this hoard later, it is difficult to explain why the coin of Diodotus is in mint condition. Had the hoard been buried in *c.* 1st century A. D.,[1] the coin of Diodotus should have shown signs of circulation. The stratigraphical evidence is overlapping, and undue stress on it is not safe. It is also just possible that the hoard may have been buried in *c.* 325 B.C., taken out, then again buried in *c.* 250 B.C.

The classification of Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan currency is largely on the basis of fabric and the grouping of symbols. It is generally accepted that the thin, broad, and the large-sized coins belong to the Pre-Mauryan period; whereas the small, thick, and finely executed ones belong to the Mauryan age. There is thus a marked difference in the manufacture of Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan coins.

The later class of coins are more numerous and found all over India which suggests their being issued by the imperial Mauryas. The crescented hill is regarded as the Rājāṅka of Chandragupta Maurya, and its association with the Mauryan monuments has been well established.[2] Moreover, hoards show that a good number of the coins regarded as Pre-Mauryan are restamped with the Mauryan monogram (crescented hill) on the reverse which is an additional proof of the existence of a Pre-Mauryan currency. Silver punch-marked coins had a long circulation and that is why they were known also as Purāṇas. Restamping during the Mauryan age testifies to their long circulation. Under these circumstances the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan classification of the silver punch-marked coins should not be doubted.

It is suggested both from the literary as well as archæological evidence that Magadha had her own coinage during our period. By the 7th century B.C. the kingdoms of Magadha, Kośala and others had started minting coins[3]. Bhandarkar comes to the conclusion that the large finds of punch-marked coins represent coinages of three different regions of India with their headquarters as Takshaśilā, Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā[4]. The coins of the Paila hoard are regarded as the indigenous coins of Kośala before its inclusion in the Magadhan empire[5]. These coins follow a different weight standard, viz. of 24 *rattis*.

It is difficult to say as to who was the first Magadhan

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1. [Dani and Narain only say that both the hoards are Post-Mauryan deposits ; they do not say that the 1912 hoard was buried in c. 1st century A D.—*AKN*.]
2. *J.A.S.B.* 1937. *N.S.* No. XLVII.
3. Durga Prasad : *J.A.S.B.* 1337, *N S.* No. XLVII
4. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 99
5. Walsh and Durga Prasad, who studied the Paila hoard, agreed in maintaining that the coins were indigenous isssue of Kośala before her absorption in Magadha. cf. *J.N.S.I.* II, p. 29 ; N.S. No. XLVII of *J.A.S.B.*

ruler who started minting coins. According to the *Mahābhārata* the kings of the Bṛihadratha dynasty were having bull as the standard[1]. Bull is one of the pre-Mauryan symbols and the coins having this symbol may have been issued by the later rulers of the Bṛihadratha dynasty in the 8th century B.C. This would show that coinage in Magadha had a hoary antiquity. The coinage of Magadha during the time of the Buddha and Bimbisāra was of the standard of 20 māshakas according to the *Sāmantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosha on *Vinayapiṭaka*[2] and according to a *Jātaka* story the four Māsaka piece was of lower value than a Pāda[3]. This gets support from Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, who speak of the silver coin of 20 Māshakas; the former calls it Viṅśatika[4]. Fortunately there are actual specimens of the silver Viṅśatika which were found at Rājgir and are at present in the Lucknow Museum[5]. We may accept the view of V. S. Agrawala that the Viṅśatika was related to the weight standard of 40 *rattis* in silver[6].

Pāṇini (V. 1.24) refers to another specific silver coin named Triṅśatka, which is not referred to by other authorities. Specimens of silver punch-marked coins of the weight of 58 *rattis* were found from Bihar by Durga Prasad[7]. This should be identified with Triṅśatka. Two *rattis*' loss may be explained as being due to wear caused by circulation.

Indigenous coinage of Magadha must have undergone considerable change after her attaining an imperial status. Under the prosperous reigns of the Haryaṅkas and the Nandas coins must have been issued on a large scale. It is not unlikely that they may have introduced a uniform system of coinage throughout their domain. We may accept the suggestion of V. S. Agrawala that the Nandas standardised Magadhan coinage according to the traditional standard of the 16 *māshakas*[8]. The Sanskrit grammar has retained the illustration *Nandopakramāṇi mānāni*, i. e. the task of standardising weights was first accomplished by Nanda kings. In view of the extensive territories of the Nandas, and their possession of tremendous wealth, the view that the Nandas introduced a uniform currency would appear to be quite correct. A new standard was introduced by the Nandas and it was of the 32 *rattis*[9]. It appears that during the

1. *J.B.O.R.S.* 1919, p. 26.
2. तदा राजगृहे वीसतिमासको कहापणो होति तस्मा पञ्चमासको पादो, V. S. Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 269. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 111
3. *Jātaka*, III. 448; *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 112.
4. *Pāṇini*. V. 1.27. शतमान-विंशतिक-सहस्र वसनाद् अण; V. 1.32; V, 1.24
5. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 270.
6. Ibid. p. 271. 7. *J.U.P.H.S.*, July, 1939, p. 33.
8. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 271.
9. *Presidential address* to the Numismatic Society of India, 1950, *J. N. S. I.*, XII, p. 197.

days of the Nandas the old coin Vinśatika as well as the new Kārshāpaṇa of 32 *rattis* were in circulation, because the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya also shows that both standards were recognised.

The Buddhists as well as the Brahmanical sources refer to several divisions of the silver Kārshāpaṇas, like Arddha-Kārshāpaṇa, Pāda-Kārshāpaṇa (four Māshakas) Tri-Māshaka, Dvi-Māshaka, Māshaka, Arddha-Māshaka, Kākaṇi and Arddha-Kākaṇi[1]. In the light of the specimens of silver punch-marked coins found so far, all these subdivisions seem to have been minted, except the Kakaṇi which seems to have been a copper token for the silver one. Until a few years ago it was doubted if the half-Māshaka, a tiny silver piece of one *ratti* only, could have been minted. V. S. Agrawala expressed his opinion that the Arddha-Māshaka of silver would be too minute to be handled, and hence it did not exist.[2] But later on he had the opportunity of examining some of the half-Māshaka pieces[3]. In the catalogue of Allan four specimens of the silver Māshaka are described.[4] Walsh has made mention of 79 minute coins, weighing 2.3 to 2.86 grains. These are decidedly silver Māshakas. The theoretical weight of the Māshaka is two *rattis* =3 to 3.5 grains.[5] V. S. Agrawala found a hoard of 100 pieces containing Māshakas and half Māshakas.[6] These tiny coins bear symbols only on the obverse.

The punch-marked coins bear punched symbols on them. Pāṇini speaks of Rūpa which is significant of the punching of coins.[7] This is made clear by Kauṭilya, who makes mention of the royal officer Rūpadarśaka[8], whose duty was to supervise the minting and punching of coins and to see, if the punches were made properly. Patañjali refers to the officer Rūpatarka[9], whose duty seems to be the same.

The varieties of symbols on the punch-marked coins and the arrangement in which they appear have been dwelt upon at length by several scholars.[10] They have made efforts to trace

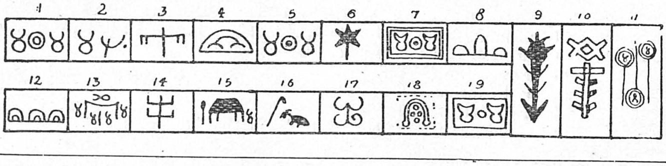
1. *Vinaya*, II. 294. 15-16 ; *Chullavagga*, XII. 1. 1. III. 49 ; *Anguttara-nikāya*, V. 83 ; *Jātaka*, I. 340 ; III 448 ; *Pāṇini*, V. 1. 48 ; V. 1. 34; *Kauṭilya*, II. 12 ; *Bhāshya*, I. 3. 72 ; 1. 239 ; *Manu*, VIII. 404.
2. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 268.
3. Ibid., and *Presidential address* to the Numismatic Society of India, 1950. *J. N. S. I.* XII, p 196.
4. Allan : *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India*, pp. 286-87.
5. *Carmichael Lectures* 1921. p 52.
6. *J. N. S. I.* XII, p. 196.
7. *Pāṇini*, V. 2. 120.
8. *Kauṭilya*, II. 29.
9. *Vārttika* to Pāṇini's Sūtra, I, 4.52.
10. On symbols reference maybe made to *J. R. A. S.* 1924 ; Cunnigham, *Coins of Ancient India; A. S. R.* 1905-6 (Spooner's article) ; Thomas, *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. 1; Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921 ; Walsh, *Memoirs of A. S. I.* Nos. 59; Durga Prasad, *J. A. S. B.* 1937, N. S. 30; Allan's *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* ; D. D. Kosambi, *J. B. O. R. S.* 1934, &c.

the origin of the symbols in the remains of the Harappā culture, in the Buddhist antiquities, in ancient literature and so on.

The study of the Pre-Mauryan punch marked coins found in Bihar and outside reveals that generally they bear five distinct symbols on the obverse. Out of these five symbols a variety of the Shaḍarachakra or the six-armed symbol and the sun are universal. The 3rd, 4th and the 5th symbols, however, change, thus giving rise to different groups of five symbols in a series. Generally groups of four symbols are formed and only the 5th is changed. Sometimes we get only four symbols instead of five. In rare cases the number of the obverse symbols is 6 to 7. The total number of symbols is high, and more than 200 of them have been identified by several scholars. We get several varieties of the same symbol ; thus in the Takshaśilā hoard alone 40 varieties of the Shaḍarachakra have been identified[1]. On account of the varities of symbols several classes and types of the coins are formed ; for instance the Golakhpur hoard forms 35 groups of five symbols.[2]

Some of the coins have blank reverse, whereas others bear small symbols which vary from one to nine. Reverse symbols are smaller than the obverse ones. They are usually regarded as the marks of the issuing or checking authority, be it the bankers or the state. It was believed formerly that the earlier coins were those which had few reverse marks. But it is rightly suggested by Durga Prasad that the numbers of the reverse marks of the punch marked coins are the determining factor of their circulation period, more reverse marks mean longer circulation period. This is shown by the fact that the coins of the thinner and broader fabric having several reverse marks are of worn out condition.

The coins showing the following symbol groups on the obverse may be regarded as the main types of the punch-marked coins current in the Pre-Mauryan Bihar[3] :—



1. *J. N. S. I.* II. p. 114.

2. Durga Prasad, *J. A. S. B.*, 1334, vol. XXX, *N. S.* No. XLV. The Bhir Mound hoard forms 120 varieties (*J. N. S. I.* XII, pt. 1 p. 136.)

3. This classification is based on the articles of Walsh in *J.B.O.R.S.* 1919 and 1939 on the hoards of Golakhpur, Ramna, Machhuatoli and in *J.N.S.I.* Vol IV. on the Patraha hoard ; and in *Memoirs of the A.S.I.* No. 62. by Bhattacharya.

A. *Four symbols* :

I. (a) Sun, Shaḍarachakra, pot of foliage, humped bull.

II. (b) Sun, Shaḍarachakra, lion, bull's or cow's head with a garland. (Sometimes branch appears as the fifth mark).

III. (c) Sun and Shaḍarachakra; third and fourth being triangle with dots and four squares with a circle within on four corners of a big square; four squares within a big square and wheel; pot of foliage and (six) dots, etc.

B. *Five symbols* : *Four symbols are constant, only the fifth changes.*

IV. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, pot of foliage, interlaced triangles, the fifth symbol being one of the following: elephant, plant, six-petalled flower, nine-leaved branch, three dots in incuse, five dots in a square, and so on.

V. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, lion, bull's or cow's head with a garland, fifth mark of a branch.

VI. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare on a hill, elephant, the fifth is a bull or some other object.

VII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, Symbol No. 1, bull over hill; the fifth is banner with taurines, elephant, snake, branch or Symbol. No. 2.

VIII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare over hill, elephantl the fifth is tree or nine-leaved branch or bull or Symbol No. 3.

IX. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare over hill, bull; the fifth mark is one of the following: a tree, cross with four taurines within, Symbol No. 5, snake, square with four taurines and a crescent caduceus, taurines round a dot, umbrella with taurines, tank with four fishes.

X. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare on hill, frog; the fifth is either a caduceus or taurines round a dot or four fishes in a tank.

XI. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, elephant, frog and Symbol No. 4.

XII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare on a hill, hare within a centre with taurines and dots around; the fifth symbol being either caduceus or taurines round a dot or elephant.

XIII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, date tree, Symbol No. 9, hare with taurines around; the fifth symbol being either elephant or Symbol No. 5 or fish or Symbol No. 6.

XIV. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, bull, hare on a hill, the fifth symbol is one of the following: elephant, Symbol No. 7, four fishes in a tank, tree in railing and so on.

XV. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, dog with hare in its mouth, Symbol No. 8 or No. 12 ; the fifth symbol being one of the following : taurines around a pellet, snake, tree within railing, elephant, caduceus etc.

XVI. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, Symbol No. 13, hill with a tank below with two fishes and a *damaru* above; the fifth being either tree with railing or nine-leaved branch or elephant or four taurines round a dot or Symbol No. 14.

XVII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, Symbol No. 15, tank with a post and two fishes ; the fifth mark is nine-leaved branch or tree in railing.

XVIII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, rhinoceros, tank with four fishes ; fifth mark being either elephant or branch of a tree or Symbol No. 1 or fish.

XIX. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, banner with taurines, hill with taurines ; fifth mark is either a branch or elephant.

XX. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, tree with taurines, Symbol No. 5, the fifth symbol being No. 16.

XXI. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hill with a tree, bull ; the fifth symbol being either Symbol No. 5 or a fish.

XXII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, wheel with taurines and dots, fish swallowing a smaller fish ; the fifth being either elephant or fish.

XXIII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, plain hill or—with a tree, two fishes in a tank, fish below a semicircle.

XXIV. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, taurines round a dot, Symbol No. 17, fifth is five dots or an illegible symbol.

XXV. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, elephant, hill with tree ; fifth being, fish or bull.

C. *Three symbols constant ; fourth and fifth changing* :—

XXVI. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, and elephant : the fourth and fifth being either bow and arrow and a circle

with eight dots round it, or Symbol No 18 and triangle with dots ; sometimes, the fifth is not present.

XXVII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, hare, the fourth and the fifth symbols being bull and a branch, or Symbol No. 5.

XXVIII. Sun, Shaḍarachakra, elephant, fourth and fifth being either four fishes in a tank with a square having a circle and an animal, or hare with taurines and Symbol No. 10 and so on.

D. *Two symbols constant ; third, fourth and fifth changing* :

Sun and shaḍarachakra, are constant, but the three symbols changing occur as follows :—

XXIX. Elephant, three fishes catching a circle, Symbol No. 11.

XXX. Tree, two squares within a rectangle, illegible

XXXI. Symbol No. 19, fish swallowing a smaller one, illegible, or some others.

Certain types of the punch-marked coins of the early fabric found in Bihar are found also at Takshaśilā and Rairh[1]. Classes A, B, C, D of the Takshaśilā hoard are found practically in the same percentage in Patrāha, Rairh and Takshaśilā[2] hoards.

This would show that findspots even widely apart contain punch-marked coins of the same class among the pre-Mauryan type of coinage. These coins seem to be a common issue by a central authority and probably were minted by the Nandas, M class of the Takshaśilā hoard is found practically in the same percentage at Rairh. The percentage at Takshaśilā and Patraha is 4.1 % and 3.8 % respectively, but 26 % at Rairh. Most probably coins minted in Bihar under the Nandas migrated to Takshaśilā and Rairh due to army movements in the early Mauryan period. Some of the coins seem to have been taken to these places by Chandragupta and Kauṭilya, who may have taken a large collection of these coins to pay the army fighting with the Greeks.

Very few specimens of copper punch-marked coins are available and it appears that they were not issued on a large

1. Walsh, *J.N.S.I.* Vol. IV. ; *J.B.O.R.S.* 1939.
P. L. Gupta, *J.N.S.I*, XII pp. 147-48.
2. P. L. Gupta has given the following table of the percentage of these classes of coins :

		Class M		*Class A*		*Class C*		*Class D*	
Takshaśilā	hoard	54	4.1%	482	45.6%	102	9.8%	147	10.4%
Patraha	hoard	13	3.8%	113	33.13%	32	9.4%	33	9.7%
Rairh	hoard	63	26.0%	82	35.6%	19	8.3%	21	9.1%

scale as was the case with silver currency. A find of copper punch-marked coins was made at Madhepur in the Bhagalpur district[1], out of which 54 specimens were aquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Their weight varies from 163.9 to 286.7 grains. There are some specimens in the British Museum also, which are regarded by Allan as belonging to Magadha of the Mauryan period. The symbols on the copper pieces are similar to those on the silver punch-marked issues; the first, second and third symbols are Sun, Shaḍarachakra and mountain. The copper Kārshāpaṇa weighed 144 grains according to the calculation of Cunnigham. According to the *Amarakosha* (*Vaiśyavarga* 85-86) 5 *guṇas* = 1 *ādyamāsha* and 16 *ādyamāasha* = 1 *karsha*, which would be equal to one *tolā*.

1. *A.S.R.* 1926-26, p. 154; Allan : *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*' pp. lxxviii—lxxix.

PROBLEM OF THE SO-CALLED MITRA RULERS OF NORTHERN INDIA.

BELA LAHIRI

A large number of coins of the second-first centuries B.C., i.e. the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period, belonging to different localities of the Madhyadeśa, such as, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbi, Pañchāla and Mathurā, and tribes like the Uddehikas, Audumbaras and Kulūtas, bear *mitra*-ending names for their rulers. Some scholars sought to assign these coins to a single "Mitra" dynasty and even to identify some of these rulers with the Śuṅga kings, mentioned in the Purāṇas.[1] But a comparative study of their coins will show that the respective peculiarities of different series of these local and tribal coins are so well-marked that we cannot attribute them to a single dynasty.

Coins of Pañchāla belong to a distinctive series, bearing on the obverse, three characteristic symbols with the king's name in a square incuse and on the reverse, generally the figure of a deity which has an allusion to the issuer's name. Fourteen of the twenty-one Pañchāla rulers, so far known from coins, have names ending in *-mitra*.[2]

The characteristic types of Kauśāmbi coins are, all through, a bull on the obverse, and a tree-in-railing with the king's name on the reverse, along with other minor symbols. Thirteen of the nineteen rulers of the locality have *mitra*-ending names.[3]

The Mitra coins of Ayodhyā are characterised by their distinct fabric and reverse type, which is either a cock or an

1. Jayaswal held that all the Mitra rulers belonged to one dynasty, namely, the Suṅga (see *JBORS*. Vol. III, pp. 476 ff. ; for identification of names, see ibid., p. 479, n. 15 & *JBORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 279-308). H. C. Raychaudhuri, was also in favour of identifying some of the Mitras with the Śuṅga kings as advocated by Jayaswal (*PHAI*, 4th ed, pp. 326-7). See also *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 100 and Harikishore in *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 25 ff. The problem has been discussed by the present author in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1953, pp. 57 ff.

2. The Pabhosa inscription (No. II) of Āshāḍhasena (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 98) also reveals the existence of a local ruling family at Pañchāla during the second-first centuries B.C.

3. Epigraphic records testify to the fact that the rulers belonged to a separate line of princes at Kauśāmbi. Brihaspatimitra, identified with his namesake of Kauśāmbi coins, is known from the Pabhosā inscription (No. I) to be a ruler of Kauśāmbi. Some Kauśāmbi records also mention Varuṇamitra (*Indian Culture*, I, pp 694-95) and Jyeshthamitra (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 4th ed., p. 328 fn. 1) known from coins of that locality. A fragmentary Kosam inscription (*ASIR*. 1913-14, pp. 262-64) refers to another Kauśāmbi king, Śivamitra.

elaborate *nandipada* in a framework, although their obverse type is bull, as that of the Kauśāmbi coins.[1]

Coins of Mathurā also exhibit distinctive types. Lakshmī standing between several symbols on either sides and holding a lotus in her uplifted right hand forms the obverse type, while the reverse depicts three elephants with riders. Five of the twelve known Hindu rulers of Mathurā have names ending in *-mitra*.[2]

Coins ascribed to Kanauj are closely inter-connected by symbols with two other distinct series of coins that have the appellations of 'Udehaki' or 'Sudavapa' for their issuers' names. The Kanauj series bears the names of two Mitras, viz. Śūryamitra and Brahmamitra, while the Uddehika coins supply us with the name of one Śūryamitra, and the Sudavāpa pieces, the names of Śūryamitra and Dhruvamitra.[3]

It is interesting to note that the name Śūryamitra occurs on all the three series—Kanauj, Uddehika and Sudavāpa,[4] which are again inter-connected by some common symbols. Thus, the so-called Ujjain symbol appears on all the three series, while the tree-in-railing occurs on the Kanauj and Uddehika coins, and the triangular-headed-standard which finds its place on the obverse of Kanauj and Sudavāpa coins is counter-marked on the reverse of the Uddehika pieces. (Cf. *BMC, AI*, p. 147, Pl. XIX, 12; *Excavation at Rairh*, p. 60, Pl. XXVI. 9 & 10). But inspite of the symbolical inter-connections, coins ascribed to Kanauj form a distinct series with their round shape, while the square Sudavāpa coins are distinguished from similar Uddehika pieces by their finer fabric and more neatly incised lettering (*Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XXVI, 9 & 10). Under these circumstances, it is difficult to suggest that Śūryamitras of the three

1. An inscription of Dhanadeva (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96) who is known from an earlier series of Ayodhyā coins corroborates the existence of a dynasty at Ayodhyā, which claimed descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra himself. The Mitras of Ayodhyā, as coins indicate, succeeded the line of Dhanadeva.

2. Of them Vishṇumitra is known from a Mathurā epigraph (*IHQ*, II, pp. 444 ff.) and Brahmamitra, from his queen's dedicatory inscription at Bodhgaya (*ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 147) while another unnamed king of Mathurā is referred to in the Mora brick inscriptions (*ASIR*, 1911-12, p. 128). Thus it is evident that there was a different line of rulers at Mathurā also.

3. The Uddehikas are known from literature as an ancient people and are located by Al-Beruni near Bazana (Bayana in the Bharatpur State), hundred-and-twelve miles south-west of Kanauj (*Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 159, fn. 3) Whether 'Sudavapa' designated a family or a locality cannot be determined at present. (See Dikshit, *JNSI*, III, p. 48 and Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 52 for different views about the name Sudavapa). It is only known that these 'Sudavapa' coins were discovered at Rairh in Jaipur State, along with Uddehika coins (Puri, *op. cit*, pp 51-52).

4. [It occurs in the Pañchāla and Mathurā series also; Allan, *CAI*, p. 193 p. 174—*A.S.A.*]

different series are identical. It is still more difficult to identify Śūryamitra and Brahmamitra of Kanauj coins with their namesakes in the Mathurā coins which are otherwise distinct by their type, fabric, etc.

Even among some distant Punjab tribes, such as the Audumbaras and the Kulūtas, we find rulers with *mitra*-ending names. The Audumbara series supplies us with the names of four Mitra rulers, while Vijayamitra of the Kulūtas is known from coins discovered at Taxila (Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 171, II, p. 820, Nos. 252-53) as well as from the Bajaur Relic Casket Inscription of the reign of Menander (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 102).[1] The Audumbara Mitra coins depict on the obverse the figure of Kārttikeya standing with a spear and on the reverse an elephant, usually with rider. The coin-types of the Kulūta rulers consist of groups of symbols, on both the obverse and the reverse, of which the more important ones are the mountain-symbol, *nandipada* and *svastika*.

It is clear that no common and evident stamp of imperial authority as discerned in different local issues of the earlier punch-marked coinages[2] is discernible on these distinctive series of coins and hence they could not have been the different local issues of rulers of a single *imperial* dynasty. The local type of a particular coin will decide the attribution of its issuer to a particular local dynasty or tribe to which he belonged. Thus, we cannot conclude that Brahmamitra was a king of the Uddehikas, only because a coin of that king was discovered at Rairh along with the Uddehika coins.[3] It is evident from the type of the coin in question that Brahmamitra was actually a ruler of Mathurā, a place not too far from Rairh for a coin to travel there in course of trade. Similarly, the discovery of a few Mitra coins at Pāṭaliputra would not necessarily indicate that Pāṭaliputra was the centre of a distinct Mitra family.[4]

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1. [It is doubtful whether king Vijayamitra of Taxila coins was a Kulūta. He seems to have belonged to a house of feudatories of which Indravarma, Aśpavarman and Vijayamitra were the members. See *N. Chr.*, 1944, pp. 99-104. —*A.S.A.*]

[Vijayamitra is expressly stated as a Kulūta in the coin legend. See Appendix. —*Author*]

2. See *BMC, AI*, p. xx, § 16 and pp. lxxi ff., § 82.

3. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 51-52.

4. For Mitra coins found at Pāṭaliputra, see *ASIR* 1912-13, pp. 84-85, Nos. 6, 10, 19, 20. Some Mitra rulers, viz., Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and Brihaspatimitra are no doubt associated with the Magadha region (Raychoudhury, *PHAI*, 5th ed. p. 401); the former two are known from their queens' dedicatory inscriptions at Bodhgaya (*ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 147) and the latter from the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 209, l. 12). But the identification of Indrāgnimitra with the Indramitra of Pañchāla coins, a few of which have also been found at Pāṭaliputra, is disputable. And Brahmamitra is known from Mathurā coins and Brihas-

For, the Mitra coins found there show no type specially attributable to Pāṭaliputra, but are in reality coins of the Pañchāla series, probably brought there in commercial transactions. It may also indicate that Pāṭaliputra came under the sway of the Mitra rulers of Pañchāla during the times of Indramitra and others whose coins are found there.[1] Again, the identity of names amongst rulers of different localities may not always indicate that the rulers concerned were identical persons. We have to consider other factors before we identify the issuer of a particular type of coin with his namesake of a different series.

Now, it is significant that none of the above local dynasties finds any mention in the Purāṇas, while all the kingdoms of northern India that had any pretension to paramountcy or had any connection with Pāṭaliputra, up to the fourth century A.D. are invariably mentioned in them. Yet, as their coinages show, they ruled during the second-first centuries B.C.,[2] i.e., the Śuṅga-Kaṇva periood, and were, to all practical purposes, independent; while so far as we know regarding the extent of the empire of at least the first Śuṅga monarch[3], most of these local kingdoms seem to have been included into it. This apparently anomalous position can be explained if we assume that though Pushyamitra was virtually their overlord, he did not interfere with their internal affairs and permitted them to srike their own coinages[4]. He might have, with some sort of understanding, allowed the already established ruling families, like those at Pañchāla and Kauśāmbi to rule over their respective spheres, while in other places, such as Vidiśā[5] and

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patimitra from Pañchāla as well as from Kauśāmbi coins. Thus these three kings do not seem to have belonged to any distinct line at Pāṭaliputra, although they might have ruled there.

1. We may here refer to the passage in the *Yuga Purāṇa* which states, according to A K. Narain's interpretation, that "the Pañcālas and Māthuras with the Yavanas *(Yavanāśca)* after having attacked Sāketa reached Kusumadhvaja."—*The Indo-Greeks*, p. 176

2. [The Mitra series of Ayodhyā is later than the 1st century A.D. —*A.S.A.*]

3. See Author's article in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1954, p. 88.

4. It is strange that while we get a number of inscribed coins of various local rulers of this period, no coin has yet been discovered which can, without doubt, be attributed to Pushyamitra himself. Is it possible that Pushyamitra did not exercise the royal prerogative of issuing coins in conformity with his non-assumption of the royal title ?

[It is also possible that the Mitra kings mentioned in this paper may have risen to power after 125 B. C., when Śuṅga power had declined and provinces could have set up their own semi-independent houses. *A S.A*]

5. From the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (ed. by G. V. Bhattacharya, p. 391, Act. V, 20) we know that Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra was his viceroy at Vidiśā, which probably continued to be ruled over by his descendants. For the combined evidence of the Purāṇas (Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 49 : *Śuṅgānāṁ tu kulasyānte* etc.) and the two Besnagar inscriptions of Bhāgabhadra (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 90) and of Bhāgavata (*ASIR*, 1913-14, p. 190) leave no room for doubt that Vidiśā was ruled over by Śuṅga princes.

Ayodhyā[1], he might have installed members of his own family or persons of his choice. Now, from epigraphical evidence, we know that some of the local dynasties like those at Pañchāla, Kauśāmbi and Mathurā were matrimonially connected with one another. According to the Morā inscription, Bṛhaspatmitra(I) of Kauśāmbi had a daughter married to a king of Mathurā. Again, the Pabhosā inscription No. I informs us that king Āshāḍhasena of Pañchāla was the maternal uncle of Bṛhaspatimitra(II) of Kauśāmbi. It is not, therefore, improbable that some of the local princes were likewise connected with Pushyamitra's family also.

There are two Purāṇic passages which incidentally throw some light on the last days of the Śuṅgas. According to one passage, Vāsudeva Kāṇva, the minister of the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti, became "King *among the Śuṅgas*"[2], while according to the other, "the Andhra Simuka assailed the Kāṇvāyana Suśarman and destroyed the *remains of the Śuṅgas' power*"[3]. These passages clearly signify that although the main line of the Śuṅgas ended with the murder of Devabhūti by Vāsudeva Kāṇva, princes of the Śuṅga family continued to rule in other centres contemporaneously with the Kāṇvas, till both the powers were eclipsed by the rise of the Āndhars. R. P. Chanda is of opinion that the Śuṅga empire, during its later stage, was divided into a number of petty principalities, ruled over by semi-independent Śuṅga princes, with the Śuṅga emperor as its nominal head[4]. If the Bharhut gateway inscription, a record of the later Śuṅga period, referring to "the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas"[5] in a vague way, may be taken to indicate such a state of affairs, we are to seek these Śuṅga princes from among the different local rulers of this period. And as Dr. Raychaudhuri has shown,[6] the only rulers of concern, known from epigraphic and numismatic sources to have ruled in different parts of Northern India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, were the so-called Mitras. But it would be wrong to suppose that a prince of the Śuṅga family will invariably bear a *mitra*-ending name[7], or that

1. The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva likewise informs us that he was the sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra himself, which indicates that in Ayodhyā also Pushyamitra installed another member of the family,

2. "The minister Vāsudeva, forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas. He, the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years."—Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 71.

3. "The Andhra Simuka with his fellow tribes-men, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth."—Ibid , p. 71.

4. *IHQ*, Vol. V, pp. 608 ff.

5. "*Suganaṁ raje* ...." etc. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 89.

6. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 4th ed., p. 334.

7. It may be noted that six among the ten Śuṅgas mentioned in the Purāṇas did not bear any *mitra*-ending name.

any family be termed Śuṅgan, simply because its members bear the surname *-mitra*. As for example, Dhanadeva of Ayodhyā, known to be a Śuṅga prince, did not bear *mitra*-ending name, while it is questionable if the Mitras of the same locality, who flourished much later than Dhanadeva, were at all connected with the earlier dynasty. But as we have already suggested, it is not altogether unlikely that a few of the Mitras of different localities were matrimonially or otherwise connected with the Śuṅga family.

While, therefore, we admit that some of the local dynasties of Northern India during the second-first centuries B.C. might have owed their origin to the Śuṅgas, none of them can be identified with the imperial line, mentioned in the Purāṇas, nor can we hold that all the so-called Mitras of different localities belonged to a single family, for it is quite unlikely that the Mitra rulers of the distant Audumbara and Kulūta tribes were connected with the Mitras of Madhyadeśa. To bear the surname *mitra* was possibly the fashion of the day, that is why we come across a great many rulers of this period bearing *mitra*-ending names.

APPENDIX: LIST OF COIN-TYPES

Below is a list of Representative Coin-types of Rulers of different localities and tribes with Mitra-ending Names.

Abbreviations:

BMC, AI = *British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ancient India (1936)*—By J. Allan.

Br. = Brāhmī

ER = *Excavations at Rairh (1936)*—by K. N. Puri.

IMC = *Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. I (1906)—by V. A. Smith

JASB = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

JNSI = *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*

Kh. = Kharoshṭhī

Rd. = Round

Sqr. = Square

N. B.—The coins are in copper and round in shape, if not otherwise stated.

I. AUDUMBARA

Obverse	Reverse	Reference
1. ĀRYAMITRA		
(a) Male figure standing to l., holding spear in right hand. Kh. legend: *Raña Ajamitasa.*	Elephant to l.; tree on l. Br. legend: *Ajamitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 125, No. 26: Pl. XV. 13
(b) Elephant to r.; traces of legend.	Tree-in-railing; traces of legend.	*BMC. AI.* p. 126, No. 30: Pl. XV. 16.
2. BHĀNUMITRA.		
(a) Male figure as on 1a. Legend illegible.	Elephant to l. with rider. Br. legend: *Bhānumitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 128, No. 44: XLIII. 2.
(b) Elephant to l. Kh. legend: *Raña Bhānumitasa.*	Elephant to r. before tree-in-railing. Br. legend as on 2a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 128, No. 45: Pl. XLIII. 3.
(c) Elephant to l. Kh. legend as on 2b.	Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend as on 2a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 127, No. 40: Pl. XVI. 2.
3. MAHĀBHŪTIMITRA.		
Male figure, as on 1a. Kh. legend: *Mahābhūtimitasa.*	Elephant to l. with rider. Legend illegible.	*BMC. AI.* p. 287, No. 30a (ex Whitehead).
4. MAHĪMITRA.		
Male figure standing as on 1a. Kh. legend: *Mahimitrasa.*	Elephant to l. Br. Legend: *Mahimitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 126, No. 32: Pl. XV. 17-18.

Obverse	Reverse	Reference
	II. AYODHYĀ	
1. ĀYUMITRA (We prefer Smith's reading to Rapson's "Āryamitra").		
Bull to l. before a standard. Br. legend : *Āyumitasa.*	Cock (*hamsa ?*) to r. on l. side and palm-tree on r.	*BMC. AI.* p. 137, No. 60 : Pl. XVII. 18.
2. DEVAMITRA.		
Bull to l. before a standard. Br. legend: *Devamitasa.*	Cock to r. on l. side and tree on r.	*IMC.* p. 151, No. 28 : Pl. XIX. 18.
3. SAṀGHAMITRA.		
Bull to l. before a standard. Br. legend : *Saghamitasa.*	Elaborate *nandipada* on pedestal.	*BMC. AI.* p. 138, No. 69 : Pl. XVII. 21.
4. SATYAMITRA.		
Bull to l. before a standard. Br. legend : *Satyamitasa.*	Cock to r. on l. side and tree on r.	*BMC. AI.* p. 135, No. 41 : Pl. XVII. 11.
5. VIJAYAMITRA.		
(a) Bull to l. before a standard. Br. legend : *Vijayamitasa.*	Tree on l. and cock on r.	*BMC. AI.* p. 138, No. 70 : Pl. XVII. 22.

(b) Elaborate *nandipada* on pedestal. Br. legend as on 5a.	Bull on pedestal.	*BMC. AI.* p. 139, No. 77 : Pl. XVIII.3 (obv.) and 5 (rev.).
(c) Uncertain type (Smith describes it as a solar symbol composed of a globe and a three-pronged figure, while Cunningham interprets it as a combined symbol of *triratna* and *dharma-chakra*). Br. legend as on 5a, but inscribed around.	On a pedestal, bull standing to 1. before a standard.	*BMC. AI.* p. 139, No. 75 : Pl. XVIII.5 (obv.) and 3 (rev.).
(d) Stūpa ? Br. legend as on 5c.[1]	Bull before a standard as on 5c.[2]	*BMC. AI.* p. 139, No. 76 : Pl.XVIII.4.

III. KANAUJ

1. BRAHMAMITRA.

Ujjain symbol, tree-in-railing and triangle-headed standard. Below, Br. legend : *Brahmamitasa.*	Triśula-headed standard within a railing to 1.; another illegible symbol on r.	*BMC. AI.* p. 147, No. 1 : Pl. XIX. 11.

2. SŪRYAMITRA.

Three sympols as on No. 1. Br. legend : *Suyamitasa.*	Illegible.	*BMC. AI.* p. 147, No. 2 : Pl. XIX. 12.

1. The obverse device being indistinct, it is not unlikely that the type is identical with 5c.
2. This unique coin being different in type and fabric from the coins described below, we attribute it to a first Bṛihaspatimitra,

IV. KAUŚĀMBĪ

Obverse	Reverse	References
1. AGNIMITRA.		
(a) Bull to r. before three-peaked hill surmounted by *nandipada* within a railing, and Ujjain symbol above bull.	Tree within railing, a wavy line, and *nandipada* surmounted by a triangle-headed standard. Below, Br. legend : *Agimitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV. p. 142, Pl. XII. 20 ; also *BMC. AI.* p. 153, No. 34a : Pl. XXVIII. 15 (not so distinct).
(b) As on 1a, but *countermarked* on the obv. by a *nandipada* symbol.	As on 1a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 153, No. 34, Pl. XX.5.
2. BṚIHASPATIMITRA I.		
Horse to r. ; *nandipada* over a square containing an uncertain symbol in front. Br. legend [*Baha-*]*satim*[*i*]*tasa.*	On a pedestal, elephant to r. with tree-in-railing in front.	*BMC. AI.* p. 150, No. 15 : Pl.XX. 1.
3. BṚIHASPATIMITRA II.		
(a) Bull to r. before a symbol as on 1a.	Symbols as on 1a. Br. legend : *Bahasatimitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 151, No. 18 : Pl. XX. 2.
(b) Bull to r., etc., as on 3a, but *counterstruck* with a triangle-headed standard in a railing.	As on 3a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 152, No. 26 : Pl. XX. 4 ; Intr., p. xcvii ; also *JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 143, Pl.XII.24.

(c) Bull to r., etc., as on 3a, but *counter-struck* with *nandipada* symbol.	Traces of type.	*BMC. AI.* p. 152, No. 27 : Pl. XXI. 18 ; also *JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 12, Pl.I.14.
(d) Bull to r., etc., as on 3a.	*Counterstruck* with *nandipada* and tree-within-railing.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 13, Pl. I. 15.
4. ĪŚVARAMITRA.		
(a) Two-line Br. legend : *Rājā Īśa-ra-mitasa.*	*Yūpa* or tree-in railing.	*Æ.* Sqr. : *JNSI.* Vol. XV, p. 44, No. 2 : Pl. II. 6
(b) Two-line legend : *ramitasa Īsa*, written upside down.	Device indistinct.	*Æ.* Rd. : *JNSI.* Vol. XV, p. 44, No. 1 : Pl. II. 5.
5. JYESHṬHAMITRA.		
(a) Bull to l.	Tree-within-railing. Br. legend : *Jeṭhamitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 154, No. 35 : Pl. XX. 9.
(b) Horse to l. ; taurine symbol in front.	Standing figure. To r., Br. legend : *Jeṭhamitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 154, No. 37 : Pl. XX. 8.
(c) Bull to l.	Ujjain symbol and three-peaked hill. Br. legend : *Jeṭhamitasa.*	*BMC. AI.* p. 154, No. 36 : Pl. XX. 7.
(d) Bull to l. before symbol as on la.	Ujjain symbol, three-peaked hill and tree-within-railing.[1] Br. legend in the centre : *Jeṭhamitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 141, Pl. XII. 17.
(e) Tree-within-railing.	As on 5d.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 142, Pl. XII. 18.

1. It may be actually type 'c', with more distinct symbols.

Obvese	Reverse	Reference
(f) Tree-within-railing above; Ujjain symbol below tree; other symbols indistinct.	Br. legend across the centre: *Jeṭhamitasa*. Above, triangle-headed standard; below, Ujjain symbol.	*JNSI.* Vol. VIII, p. 12, Pl. IA. 9.
(g) Bull to r. before triangle-headed standard; *nandipada* symbol *counterstruck* across the body of the bull in a deep incuse.	Tree-within-railing to r.; *svastika* and *nandipada* below. Br. legend as on 5a.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 144, Pl. XII. 23.
6. PRAJĀPATIMITRA.		
Bull to r. before a symbol, as on 1a.	Tree-within-railing, Ujjain symbol and another symbol obliterated. Circular legend: *Prajāpati[mitasa]*.[1]	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 7, Pl. I. 6.
7. PRAUSHṬHAMITRA.		
(a) Bull to l. before a symbol, as on 1a.	Tree-within-railing, taurine, wavy line etc. Below, Br. legend: *Poṭhamitasa*.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 133, Pl. XII. 1.
(b) Bull to l., etc., as on 7a.	*Counterstruck* with *nandipada* symbol. Legend as on 7a.[2]	*JNSI.* Vol. VIII, p. 11, Pl. I. 7.
8. RĀḌHAMITRA.		
Traces of bull to r. before a symbol as on la.	Lion couchant. Br. legend above: *Rāḍhamitasa*.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 4. Pl. I. 2 and p. 141, Pl. XII. 15.

1. For other varieties with different arrangement of symbols, see *JNSI*. IV. p. 140, Pl. XII. 12 and 13.
2. We have taken the inscribed side as reverse.

9.	Rājamitra.		
(a)	Bull to r. before a symbol as on 1a.	Tree-within-railing with branches on either sides; other symbols obliterated. Circular Br. legend : *Rājamitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 8, Pl. I. 7 (obv.) and 6 (rev.); and for varieties see *ibid.*, Pl. I. 8-9.
(b)	Bull to r. as on 9a.	Two three-pronged symbols placed back to back to each other. Br. legend in straight line.	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 140, Pl. XII. 14.
10.	Rajanimitra.		
	Bull to r.	Tree-within-railing. Circular Br. legend : *Rajanimitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 10, Pl. I. 10.
11.	Sarpamitra.		
	Bull to r.	Ujjain symbol on l. and probably tree-within-railing on r. Br. legend below (in an incuse) : *Sapamitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 135, Pl. XII. 7-8.
12.	Satyamitra.		
	Bull to r.	Tree-within-railing, Ujjain symbol. Br. legend below : [*Sa*]*tamitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 134, Pl. XII. 6.
13.	Suramitra.		
	Bull to r., blurred symbol in front.	Tree-within-railing, Ujjain symbol, wavy line and another symbol obliterated. Below, Br. legend : *Suramitasa.*	*JNSI.* Vol. IV, p. 5, Pl. I. 3-4.

Obvese	Reverse	Reference
14. VARUṆAMITRA.		
(a) Bull to r. and blurred symbol.	Tree-within-railing, a wavy line, etc. Br. legend below: *Varuṇamitasa*	*JNSI*. Vol. IV, p. 6, Pl. 1. 5 and p. 141, Pl. XII. 16.
(b) Lion running to r. above, a horizontal *countermark* of a combination of *nandipada* and triangle-headed standard. Above it, some traces of Ujjain symbol and another symbol.	Tree-within-railing, other symbols blurred. Br. legend below, as on 14a.	*JNSI*. Vol. VIII, p. 17, Pl. 1B. 2.
	V. KULŪTA	
1. VIJAYAMITRA.		
Shaft surmounted by *triratna* in railing; circlet surrounded by four taurines, conventionalised lotus and taurine symbol. Kh. legend: [*Ku*] *lutasa Vijayamitasa*.	Six-peaked hill surmounted by standard, *svastika* and triangle-headed symbol. Br. legend: [*Rājña Kulu-*] *tasya Vijaya-mitrasya*.	Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 820, No. 252: Pl.243-252 (in Vol. III)
	VI. MATHURĀ	
1. BRAHMAMITRA.		
Lakshmī standing, facing, holding lotus in 1 hand; three other minor symbols. Br. legend: *Brahmamitasa*.	Three elephants with riders.	*BMC.AI*. p.173, No. 26; Pl, XXV.12[1].

1. For a variety with one of the three symbols differing, see *BMC. AI*. p. 173. No. 31: Pl. XXV. 13

2. DṚIḌHAMITRA.		
Lakshmī as on 1a. but with two symbols. Br. legend: *Dadhamitasa.*	Traces of three elephants.	*BMC.AI.* p. 174, No. 32: Pl. XLIII. 16.
3. GOMITRA I (?)		
(a) Four symbols including taurine and tree-in-railing. Br. legend: (above) *Gomitasa* (below) *rāṇāyāṁ.*	Tree-in-railing in square of dots.	*BMC.AI.* p. 169, No. 1: Pl. XXIV.21.
(b) Rude figure with arms uplifted with taurine on r. Br. legend: *Gomitasa.*	Three-branched tree-in-railing.	*BMC.AI.* p. 169, No. 5: Pl. XXV. 3.
4. GOMITRA II (?)		
The following coins being of usual Mathurā type and different from the above 'Gomitra' pieces may be ascribed to a second Gomitra :—		
(a) Lakshmī standing, etc., as on 1a; four other symbols including river. with-fish below. Br. legend: *Gomitasa*; "the whole in a circular die."	Three elephants with riders.	Æ, Sqr.: *BMC.AI.* p. 170, No. 10: Pl. XXV.1 and No. 11: Pl. XXV.2.]
(b) As on 4a.	As on 4a.	Æ. Rd.: *BMC.AI.* p. 171 No. 13: Pl. XXV. 5-6.
(c) As on 4b, but the king's name is in place of the tree on 1.	Traces of above type.	Æ. Rd.: *BMC.AI.* p. 171, No. 17: Pl. XXV. 4.

Obvese	Reverse	Reference
(d) Lakshmī facing l., standing on a lotus; tree in centre; Ujjain symbol below tree. Br. legend on r., reading downwards: *Gomitasa.*	Device uncertain.	*BMC.AI.* p. 171, No. 18: Pl. XLV. 1[1].
(e) Bull to r. before tree-in-railing; above, Br. legend *Gomitasa* followed by Ujjain symbol.	Plain.	*BMC.AI.* p. 172, Pl. XXV. 9[2].
5. SŪRYAMITRA.		
Lakshmī standing, etc., as on 1a; three symbols. Br. legend. *Sūyamitasa.*	Three elephants with riders.	*BMC. AI.* p. 174, No. 34: Pl. XXV. 21.
6. VISHṆUMITRA.		
Lakshmī standing, etc., as on 1a; two symbols. Br. legend around: *Vishṇumitasa.*	Three elephants with riders.	*BMC. AI.* p. 175, No. 39: Pl. XXV. 16.

VII. PAÑCHĀLA

1. AGNIMITRA.		
(a) In a square incuse, three characteristic Pañchāla symbols above; and Br. legend below: *Agimitrasa.*	Male figure (Agni) with flaming hair, standing facing on a platform between two pillars.	*BMC. AI.* p. 200, No. 60: Pl. XXVIII. 8.

1. According to Allan, the coin may belong to a different Gomitra, see BMC. AI. p. cix.
2. "It is doubtful whether they belong to the same Gomitra or even to Mathura"——Allan, op, cit. p. cix.

(b) As on 1a, but the three Pañchāla symbols obliterated by a *countermark* of a standing female figure.	As on 1a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 201, No. 79 : Pl. XLVI. 16.
(c) as on 1a, but with a *countermarked* lion to 1.	As on 1a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 201, No. 80 : Pl. XLVI. 15.
(d) As on 1a.	Agni standing on something like a lotus instead of a pedestal.	*JASB.* Vol. XLIX, p. 88, Pl. VIII. 13-15 ; *BMC. AI.* Pl. XXVIII. 11.
(e) Instead of the three usual Pañchāla symbols, only the third Pañchāla symbol occurs along with a different one. Br. legend below : *Agimitasa.*	Male figure, etc., as on la.	*JNSI.* Vol. III, p. 81, Pl. ? fig. 6.
2. BHĀNUMITRA.		
(a) Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend : *Bhānumitrasa.*	Sun between pillars on railed pedestal.	*BMC. AI.* p. 195, No. 28: Pl. XXVII. 16.[1]
(b) As on 2a, but the second symbol obliterated by the *countermark* of the third symbol.	As on 2a.	*BMC. AI.* p. 197, No. 39 (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. VII. 7), and *JASB.* Vol. XLIX, p. 25, Pl. III. 5.
(c) As on 2a, but the three symbols obliterated by the *countermark* of a female figure laid horizontally.	Defaced	*IMC.* p. 187, No. 2 : Pl. XXII. 3.
(d) Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend : *Bhānumitrasa.*	"Five-pointed flame rising from a *nandipada* symbol."	*IMC.* p. 187, No. 4 : Pl. XXII. 5.

1. For a small coin, see p. 196, No. 35 : Pl. XXVII. 15.

Obvere	Reverse	Reference
3. BHŪMIMITRA.		
Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend : *Bhūmimitrasa.*	Male figure standing on a pedestal between two pillars ; he holds a snake in his hands and his hair is represented by five snakes.	*BMC.AI.* p. 198, No. 50 : Pl. XXVIII. 7.
4. BṚIHASPATIMITRA.		
V. A. Smith records that a coin of Bṛihaspatimitra was found at Ramnagar (Ahichhatrā) amongst coins of nine other Pañchāla kings : *IMC.* p. 185.		
5. DHRUVAMITRA,		
Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend below : *Dhruvamitrasa.*	An uncertain object (trident-battle-axe ?) between two pillars on a railing.	*BMC. AI.* p. 199, No. 55: Pl. XXVII. 6.
6. INDRAMITRA.		
(a) Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend : *Iṁdramitrasa.*	Male deity (Indra ?) standing on a pedestal, holding uncertain object in r. hand.	*BMC. AI.* p. 204, No. 99 : Pl. XXIX. 1.
(b) As on 6a.	Deity in archway ; the third Pañchāla symbol on 1.	*BMC. AI.* p. 204, No. 103 : Pl. XXIX. 3.

(c) The third Pañchāla symbol and another different symbol as on 1e. Br. legend as on 6a.	A very crude figure, drawn in outlines.	*JNSI*. Vol. III, p. 81, Pl. ? figs. 4-5.
7. JAYAMITRA :		
Three Pañchāla symbols. Br. legend : *Jayamitrasa.*	Standing deity facing on a pedestal with pillars	*BMC. AI.* p. 203, No. 94 : Pl. XXVIII. 18.[1]
8. PHĀLGUNĪMITRA.		
Three Pañchāla symbols. Below, Br. legend : *Phagunimitrasa.*	Female deity standing facing on lotus, holding uncertain object in raised r. hand; a symbol on l.; star above head.	*BMC. AI.* p. 194, No. 14 : Pl. XXVII. 11.
9. PRAJĀPATIMITRA.		
The first Pañchāla symbol and an enclosure with a shaft having a double-parasol. Two-line Br. legend : *Prajāpatimitrasa.*	Deity under an arched temple as on 6b ; the third Pañchāla symbol in field on l.	*JNSI.* Vol. III, p. 80, Pl. figs. 1-2.
10. SŪRYAMITRA.		
(a) Three Pañchāla symbols. Below, Br. legend : *Sūryamitrasa.*	Sun over a triangle-headed pedestal between pillars on railing.	*BMC. AI.* p. 193, No. 9 : Pl. XXVII. 8.

1. For a coin with a 'reverse' variety, see *JNSI*. Vol. III. p. 81.

Obvere	Reverse	Reference
(b) As on 10a, but the central symbol *countermarked* with the third symbol (cf. 2b.)	Indistinct.	*JASB.* Vol. XLIX, p. 24, Pl. III. 3.
(c) The three Pañchāla symbols obliterated by the *countermark* of a female figure (as on 2c).	Indistinct.	*JASB.* Vol. XLIX, p. 87, Pl. VII. 6A,B,C.
11. VARUṆAMITRA.		
Three Pañchāla symbols. Below, Br. legend : *Varuṇamitrasa.*	Indistinct.	*JNSI.* Vol. V, Pl. II. B.
12. VISHṆUMITRA.		
(a) Three Pañchāla symbols. Below, Br. legend : *Vishṇumitrasa.*	Male deity standing on a pedestal, holding uncertain objects in either out-stretched hands.	*BMC.AI.* p. 202, No. 84 : Pl. XXIX. 8.
(b) As on 12a, but the coin is in silver (?)	As on 12a.	*JNSI.* Vol. V, pp. 153-4.
13. VIŚVĀMITRA.		
As on 1a? Br. legend : *Viśvamitrasa* ?	Deity under an arched gateway, the top of the arch having an *āmalaka*-like protuberance.	*JNSI.* Vol. III, p. 81.

VIII. SUDAVAPA

1. DHRUVAMITRA.		
Ujjain symbol to top l.; below, elephant to r. Br. legend : *Sudavapa* (at right angles to) *Dhruvamitrasa.*	Indistinct. (Wavy river-with-fish and other symbols ?)	Æ. Sqr.: Puri, *ER.* p. 68, No. 31 : Pl. XXVI. 14.
2. SŪRYAMITRA.		
Three symbols : triangle-headed standard, another symbol and Ujjain symbol. Below, bull to l. Br. legend : '*Sudxvapa*' (at right angles to) '*Suyamitasa*'.	A meandering river with three fishes; above, star and six-peaked hill; below, the third obverse symbol.	Puri, *ER.* pp. 66-67, No. 20 : Pl. XXVI. 10.

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IX. UDDEHIKA

1. SŪRYAMITRA.		
Above, two-line Br. legend: "*Udehaki/ Suyamitasa.*" Below, tree-within-railing, tank with three fishes, and Ujjain symbol.	Elephant to l., bull, *countermarked* triangle-headed standard.	Puri, *ER.* p. 66, No. 19 : Pl. XXVI. 9; *JNSI.* Vol. III, p. 47, Pl. IVA. 1; and *BMC. AI.* p. 240, No. 2: Pl. XXXV. 17.

SOME NEW COINS FROM KAUŚĀMBĪ.

A. S. ALTEKAR

(Plate X.)

The site of ancient Kauśāmbī is well known as a rich source of ancient Indian coins. Apparently Cunningham did not spend much time at this site, and so the British Museum Collection possesses only 73 coins from this locality disclosing the coinage of only seven of its rulers. Later on I could recover the coins of more than 20 other kings of the locality from the coins collected by Sri B. M. Vyas; these coins were published in this *Journal*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-19, pp. 133-145. Recently I had the pleasure of again enjoying the hospitality of Sri B M. Vyas for one day, and besides material food, he offered many intellectual recipes, which have been utilised for this paper. I was glad to learn that Sri Ramchandra Vyas, Additional Secretary, Allahabad Municipal Board, the son of Sri B.M. Vyas, has also inherited the family interest in numismatics.

1. A COIN OF KING SACHABHADA OR SATYABHADRA.

Inscribed Kauśāmbī coins started in *c.* 200 B.C. and ended with 300 A. D. During this period of five hundred years, normally speaking not more than thirty kings could have ruled at the city and we had already traced the coins of more than 25 rulers. I had therefore not much hope of discovering any new rulers from the coins examined. I could however recover one more king from oblivion; it is however not certain that he belonged to Kauśāmbī. I describe his coin below.

Copper; die-struck; roughly rectangular, ·5″ × ·4″; 48 grains.

Obv.: Incomplete and indistinct symbol in the upper left corner, which was probably Six-armed Symbol with umbrella as one arm; Brāhmī legend across the centre of the coin, *Rańo Sacha-*, (or *Sava*) *bhadasa* or *bhasasa*.

Rev.: Ujjain symbol with two concentric circles at the end of each line. **Pl. X, 8**

The name of the king cannot be read with absolute certainty. *Rańo Sa* is certain. The following letter may be a *cha* or *va*. The next letter is a *bha*. What follows may be a

da, open on the left, or a defective *sa*, perhaps followed by a *sa*, but partly preserved. The reading of the legend would thus be either *Sachabhadasa* or *Savabhasasa*. The name of the king would thus be either Satyabhadra or Sarvabhāsa, prākṛitised into *Sachabhada* or *Savabhasa*.

Whether king Satyabhadra or Sarvabhāsa was a ruler of Kauśāmbī is not certain. But we have found this coin definitely at Kauśāmbī. Kauśāmbī, being on the high road from Taxila to Pāṭalīputra and Mālwā to the same place, used to get some copper coins also from far off places as we will show later[1]. Coins issued by Kauśāmbī rulers usually show a bull either on the obverse or on the reverse, intended to refer to the name of the royal family, the Vatsa dynasty. This animal is absent on the present coin. So one cannot be certain that Satyabhadra belonged to a Kauśāmbī dynasty. We however know of no such ruler in the Pañchāla, and Ayodhyā or Mathurā series. The identity and affiliation of this king is therefore not possible to determine. The Pañchāla series has a Sūryamitra, but that name cannot be read in the present legend. Ayodhyā had a Satyamitra, but the latter does not prākṛitise his name, nor can the letter *ma* be traced anywhere on this coin.

The identity of this king is not possible to determine. The palæography suggests that he might have belonged to the period, *c.* 150 B.C. to *c.* 50 A.D.

2. LANKEY BULL TYPE WITH A HORSE.

Lanky bull type is a well known type of the cast copper coinage at Kauśāmbī. It has a lankey bull along with several symbols on one side, and a large tree within railing with some further symbols on the other. The Bull is sometimes substituted by standing Lakshmī or Elephant; (see *B.M.C.A.I.*, Pl. XX, 15; p. xcv.)

A horse however is so far not known to be associated with the Lankey Bull, as is the case with the present coin.

Cast copper, round, ·85″ diameter; 52 grains.

Obv. Bull standing to left; in its front a V-topped banner; above it a circle with cross within; above the haunch, Ujjain symbol.

Rev. A horse marching to right; above it the Taxila symbol; in its front, Tree within Railing; below the horse an indistinct symbol, perhaps a Six-arched Symbol as on other coins of this class from this place.

Pl. X, 3.

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1. *Infra*, pp. 151-52.

The present coin is the first coin of this type showing a horse on the reverse.

3. A KUSHĀṆA IMITATION AT KAUSAMBI.

Copper, probably die-struck ; roughly circular in shape, diameter ; 75″ ; weight 58 grains.

Obv. King, probably intended to be shown as standing to right, offering oblations in the fire-altar in his front; the altar's place is however taken by a symbol. No trace of any Greek or other legend preserved.

Rev. : Blurred ; but possibly a seated Goddess with hands raised up.[1] To some extent the feet appear to be erect, and so it can also be a standing deity, as it appears on early Kushāṇa coinage.

Pl. X, 1.

Imitations of the Kushāṇa coins in the Gangetic plain were quite common in the 3rd century and the present coin belongs to that class. There is no doubt that eastern India, including Bihar if not Orissa, was under the Kushāṇa imperial rule during the 2nd century A.D. Later on, when the empire collapsed, local Kushāṇa potentates were ruling here for some time. The two seals of the Great Queen Prabhudāmā do not give the name of the locality of the kingdom of her husband ; but probably he was ruling in the Vaiśāli region. Since Prabhudāmā was the sister of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I, ruling from *c.* 200 to 222 A. D., the husband of this lady ruling at Vaiśāli must be placed in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. The Jain tradition also refers to Muruṇḍa i. e. Kushāṇa chiefs ruling at Pāṭaliputra itself.

4. A DIE-STRUCK COIN WITH A NEW SYMBOL.

Die-struck copper ; roughly rectangular, ·7″ × ·8″ ; 117 grains.

Obv. : Within a squarish enclosure a flower pot (?) with five buds with long stalks coming out from it ; incomplete Three-arched Hill on the left of this symbol. In the upper half an incomplete square enclosing some geometric symbols.

Rev. : Ujjain symbol[2] with a big knob in each of its circle. Above it another circle with a knob within it, only

1. This was first suggested to me by Mr. S. V. Sohoni.
2. [To me it does not appear to be " Ujjain Symbol" *A.K.N.*]

partly accommodated on the coin; some indistinct symbols in the remaining portion of the coin.

Pl. X, 4.

The symbol here tentatively described as a flower pot with five buds with long stalks coming out of it is a new one to the series of the so-called tribal coinage.

Kushāṇa copper coins are usually smaller but thicker and heavier than the present coin. It appears that the Kushāṇa imitation copper pieces were sought to be conformed to the size and weight of the Lankey Bull type, so common at Kauśāmbī. The weight of this coin is 58 grains; some Lankey Bull type coins weigh about 50 grains.

5. DIE-STRUCK COIN WITH SPOKED WHEEL.

Copper, roughly rectangular, ·6″ × ·5″; 55 grains.

Obv.: Spoked Wheel surmounted by eight umbrellas, of which only three are visible on the coin.

Rev.: Ujjain symbol with two concentric circles. Probably there was another symbol or object to left. There are some clear indications of a long staff,[1] but it does not seem that there was a humam figure or Kārtikeya holding a staff, as on some Ujjain coins.

Pl. X, 6.

Among the 'Tribal' coins the Spoked Wheel symbol surrounded by eight unmbrellas occurs only on the Ujjain coins of Class 1, variety *a* and class 5, varieties *a* and *b* of the British Museum Catalogue, described on its pp. 241-2 and 258-9. Like the present coin, the Ujjayini coins have also an Ujjain symbol with two concentric circles. On the latter, however, the Spoked Wheel symbol is accompanied by a number of other symbols like Taurine, Tank with Fishes, Tree within Railing etc., which are absent on the present coin.

It is most probable that this coin is a hither-to-unknown variety of Ujjaiyini coinage, which had travelled to Kauśāmbī from Mālwā.

There were a number of cast coins with Mr. B. M. Vyas, which showed a number of peculiarities and rarities. Some of them are described below:

1. Turn the photo-print by 90 degrees to visualise the staff clearly.

6. A COPPER COIN WITH HUMAN FIGURES.

Copper cast ; rectangular, ·45″ x 55″; 21 grains.

Obv. : Two Human Figures (the one on the left, perhaps a female) standing facing ; the one on the right is standing bending slightly, as if in the act of obeisance.

Rev. : Elephant before a tree. Above it, two Ujjain symbols ; below, indistinct symbols includiug Crescented Hill. **Pl. X, 7**

Whether the obverse has a third human figure on the left is not clear. There are perhaps some indications of a human foot raised up.

Among the cast coins those having human figures are very rare. British Museum has only two coins of this type ; our coin is therefore a rare one. *B.M.C.A.I.* Pl. XI. 1 has three human figures ; ours has certainly two and may be having three. But the attitude of the figure on the right is quite different from that on the coin in the British Museum. The Human figure in *B.M.C.A.I.* Pl. XI. 2 is standing before a Tree in the centre. Such is not the case with the present coin.

7. ANOTHER CAST COIN WITH A HUMAN FIGURE.

Cast copper ; squarish, ·4″ ; 21 grains.

Obv. : In the centre, Tree springing out from a five-arched Hill ; to right, a human figure standing ; to left, Taurine and one more blurred symbol.

Rev. : Indistinct symbols. **Pl. X, 9**

Tree springing from a Chaitya or Hill is to be seen on the coins of some Andhra feudatories ruling at Kolhapur (*B.M.C.A.K.*, Pl. IV. 12), but the Chaitya there is not five-arched ; it has many more arches on the different coins. Tree springing from a five-arched Chaitya or Hill occurs on the silver punch-marked coins of class 6, group VI, of the British Museum (pp. 79-81) found in the hoards discovered at Patraha in Bihar, Rairh in Rajasthan and Bhir Mound in Taxila ; it is also seen on 25 punch-marked coins in the Madras Museum Collection. Only few symbols on silver punch-marked coins are known to occur on the so-called 'Tribal' Coins : to these we shall have now to add this symbol of Tree springing from a five-arched Chaitya.

8-11. CAST COINS WITH ELEPHANT ON OBVERSE.

Elephant is a common symbol on the cast coins; it occurs on the four coins dealt below. Each of them has a peculiarity of its own.

8. Cast copper; round, diameter ·6″; 248 grains.

Obv.: Elephant to left with a spoked wheel above its back.

Rev.: Ujjain symbol with two concentric circles at each end. **Pl. X, 10.**

This type of Elephant with a Spoked Wheel above its back is not so far known to occur among the cast coins of the Gangetic plain or of Taxila.

This coin shows some affinity to some of the varieties of Ujjayini coins. Among the Ujjayini coins of the British Museum, No. 131 has a close similarity to the present coin, but the symbol of spoked wheel does not occur there; the reverse, however, shows double-circled Ujjain symbol. On B.M.C. No. 131 there is a symbol above the Elephant, but it is a Taurine and not a Spoked Wheel. Its reverse has an ordinary Ujjain symbol and not a double-circled one, as on the present coin. It also shows a Taurine, which is absent on the present coin.

In spite of these minor differences this coin seems to belong to the Ujjayini series, so far not found there. It had probably travelled with a merchant to Kauśāmbī.

9. Cast copper; oval in shape, ·5″ × ·3″; 15 grains.

Obv.: Elephant standing to left apparently before a tree.

Rev: Ujjain symbol with a knob in each circle. **Pl. X, 13.**

10. Cast copper; circular, ·35″ in diameter; 10 grains.

Obv.: Elephant standing to left; probably an incomplete Ujjain symbol on its back.

Rev.: Ujjain symbol, each orb consisting of two concentric circles. **Pl. X, 15.**

11. Cast copper; circular, ·3″ in diameter; 12 grains.

Obv.: Elephant to left, crudely drawn.

Rev.: Crescented three-arched Hill. **Pl. X, 14.**

Cast coins have usually three or four symbols on either side; but amongst them Ujjain symbol is rare. The latter figures only as a subsidiary symbol on a few coins in the British Museum; see *B.M.C.A.I.* pp. 85-86. On smaller coins of the cast coins series there is usually only one symbol on the obverse and one on the reverse; but the Ujjain symbol does not figure among them.

On the Ujjayini coins of the British Museum, Nos. 125-130, there is an ornamental Ujjain symbol on the reverse and Elephant on the obverse; but the latter is associated with three other symbols. Ujjayini coin No. 131 of the British Museum is exactly similar to the present coin, as far as its symbols are concerned, but its weight is 107 grains as against the weight of 10 grains of No. 10 above.

It would appear that coin No. 10 above is an import from Ujjayini or Mālwā at Kauśāmbī. The same would be true of the coin No. 9.

Elephant occurs on several uninscribed coins of Taxila, but these coins are much heavier; they have another animal like Lion or Horse on the reverse. The present coins therefore cannot be imports from Taxila.

All the three coins Nos. 9-11 are noteworthy for their light weights. British Museum contains similar light weight coins in its collection of cast copper coins; for instance coins Nos. 7, 8, 9, 128 and 129 weigh 17.5, 11, 13, 14, and 10.5 grains respectively; but none of these coins has been illustrated in its Catalogue.

12-15. MISCELLANEOUS.

12. Cast copper; squarish, ·55″; 38 grains.

Obv.: Tree within Railing; Ujjain symbol and Hollow Cross to left.

Rev.: Several blurred and confused symbols of which one, Svastika, can be made out. **Pl. X, 5.**

The obverse of this coin is similar to the reverse of No. 3 of *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. 85. But the reverse of this coin is confused and perhaps a better specimen may enable us to identify the symbols on this coin; it is therefore being published here.

13. Copper die-struck; pentangular with two sides meeting at a sharp angle; lengths of the sides are ·4″, 3·5″, ·4″, ·3″, ·3″; 20 grains.

7458

Obv.: An animal (Horse ?) standing before a tree; other indistinct symbols.

Rev.: Indistinct. **Pl. X, 11.**

The peculiar shape of this coin does not seem to be due to a later mutilation. The coin has the shape of a square with a triangle attached to its top.

14. Copper; rectangular with an artistic knob at its top; size without the knob, ·45″ × ·3″; 15 grains.

Obv.: A circle in depression in the centre.

Rev.: As above. **Pl. X, 12.**

The knob at the top of this coin is very interesting. It does not seem to be due to the failure to cut away the protrusion left on a cast coin at the time when the molten metal entered the mould; so big a passage for the molten metal for so small a coin does not seem to be probable.

Coins Nos. 13–14 are being published for their peculiar shapes. They are rare, if not unique.

15. A Cast Coin with heavy weight.

Copper cast; round, ·8″ in diameter; 228 grains.

Obv.: Hollow Cross

Rev.: Three-arched crescented Hill. **Pl. X, 2.**

Among the smaller cast coins, this type is very common, but weights usually vary between 50 to 60 grains. One coin in the British Museum, No. 65, Pl. XI. 16, however weighs 144.5 grains. The weight of our coin is still heavier, viz. 228 grains.

There is another coin precisely of this type in the Taxila collection of the British Museum, No. 203, which weighs as much as 305 grains. This coin shows that this type was being minted at Taxila also.

The Elephant and Lion type of Taxila usually weighs between 200 to 225 grains; Kauśāmbī is so far not known to have issued any coins of this heavy weight standard. It is not unlikely that the present coin may have been brought with him by a Kauśāmbī merchant who had gone there or may

have been left behind by a merchant travelling from Taxila to Pāṭaliputra via Kauśāmbī.

If we examine carefully the coin types found at Kauśāmbi, we shall find that some coins current there were imports from places like Ujjayini and Taxila ; most probably coins Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10 are imports from Ujjayini into Kauśāmbi and No. 15 is an import from Taxila. Among the Kauśāmbi coins published by me in *JNSI.* Vol. IV, there were three Sātavāhana coins of Śātakarṇi (pp. 25-28). Their presence at Kauśāmbī may be due to the Śātavāhana conquest of the north, but it is equally likely that these coins may have travelled to Kauśāmbī with merchants or pilgrims hailing from Mālwā, where the Sātāvāhana rule was well established. It is essential that coins found in important places like Taxila, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī, Ayodhyā, Pāṭaliputra should be carefully analysed with a view to find out which of them are local and which imported and if imported the places of their origin.

SOME ŚAKA, PAHLAVA AND KUSHĀṆA COINS IN THE MUSEUM OF AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

H. V. TRIVEDI

The coins described below belong to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York, and were selected by Dr. A. S. Altekar, during his visit there in 1954, as good specimens of rare types. Mr. Sydney P. Noe, the chief curator of the Museum, kindly supplied their photographs to Dr. Altekar for publication.[1]

MAUES

Silver. Rectangular, ·6″ × ·55″ **Pl. XI. 1**

Obv. Biga to r., in which radiate figure holding long sceptre or lance in the proper r. hand. Greek legend on three sides; on l. [B]AΣIΛEΩΣ BA; top, ΣIΛEΩN ME; r., ΓAΛOY MAY[OY]. Probably an indistinct and blurred Monogram to r.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne but with face turned to front; thunderbolt(?) in extended r. hand and long sceptre in l., Kh. legend: *Rajadhirajasa mahatasa Moasa.* Monogram in both l. and r. field.

One specimen of the above type is illustrated in Cunningham's *Coins of the Sakas* Pl. II. 3. (See also *NNM.* IV, Maues, 4-6.

AZES

(1) Silver. Circular, diameter. 85″. **Pl. XI, 2**

Obv. King seated cross-legged to front on raised cushion with head turned to l.; sword or mace across body and ankus in out stretched r. hand. Greek legend truncated and blurred; indistinct Monogram to l.

Rev. Deity walking to l., with r. hand raised and some triangular object in l., Kh. legend, as on the *P.M.C.* coin, with *rajarajasa* truncated. Monogram to l., as *P.M.C.* No. 21; to r., Kh. *bu.*

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1. I thank the American Numismatic Society and Mr. Noe for the permission to reproduce the photographs of the coins and Dr. Altekar for asking me to write on them.

2. *J.N.S.I.*, IX, pp. 9-13.

(2) Silver, Circular, diameter. 6″– ·65. **Pl. XI, 3**

Obv. The same as above. The object in the King's r. hand looks like a bunch of flowers. Monogram to l., Kh. *bu.*

Rev. Deity as above; legend the same but not fully preserved. On l. Monogram (similar to *P.M.C.*, No. 21 ; on r. it is not distinct.

The reverse of this type is usually taken to be Hermes carrying a Caduceus. The loop of the Caduceus is quite clear on the coins illustrated both in the *B.M.C.* and the *P.M.C.* But on the two coins illustrated, no Caduceus is visible and it would appear that the deity is not Hermes.

On coin No. 1 the object in the lap also shows an interesting variation; with a ball-like head on one side and a spear-like point on the other, it resembles a mace, whereas on the *B.M.C.* specimen it is distinctly a sword, particularly drawn out of the scabbard, showing a round point below, unlike that on coin No. 2. The figure on the reverse shows another important variation; on No. 1 it holds a triangular object in the left hand, which I am unable to identify, and on No. 2 it appears as standing with its back turned to us and probably with the left hand at the hip.[1] It is true that the legend on our coin No. 1 is more degenerated than on its prototypes, but on the reverse it is fairly preserved, though fragmentary; and the name of the king is quite distinct on this side. On No. 2 the name on both the sides is lost since a part of coin is clipped, but whatever is preserved can fairly be made out, more distinctly than on any other of the specimens mentioned here.

Hemidrachm size of this type of coins is rare, only one being so far known; it was obtained in excavations at Taxila and is remarkable for its small size, having a diameter of ·65″. It is described by Marshall in *A.S.I.,A.R.*, 1912-3, p. 47, No. 17; but it is not illustrated.[2] It may also be noted here that the monogram of Kh. *bu*, which occurs in our coins, is generally to be found on the coins of Azes showing the type "Mounted king and standing Zeus Nikephoros".

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1. For this and other interesting variations of the photographs of a coin of the same type obtained in excavations at Taxila, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.* 1912-3, p. 47, No. 18 and pl. Besides showing the hand of the deity at the hip, this coin also contains the title ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ in exergue, though it has lost the name of the king on both sides, as ours. It is 9″ in diameter and shows the degenerated form (?) of the legend.

2. We cannot be sure about the *B. M.* coin, as its weight is not known.

VONONES WITH SPALAHORES

(1) Silver. Circular, diameter min. 1″, max. 1.5″.

Pl. XI, 4

Obv. : King on horseback to r., holding couched spear, Circular Gr. legend, VII-III : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ; in exergue, ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev. : Zeus, radiate, facing, clad in himation ; holds thunderbolt in r. hand and leaning on long sceptre in l. Kh. legend, IV-IX, *Maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa.* Monogram on r., similar to but not exactly as *P. M. C.*, No. 10.

(2) Silver. Circular, diameter 1″. **Pl. XI, 5**

Obv. : The same as above. Probably an indistinct Monogram before the horse.

Rev. : The same as above, Monogram on r., as *P. M. C.* No. 10 ; Monogram on l., obliterated.

(3) Silver. Circular, diameter. 85″ to 90″. **Pl. XI, 6**

Obv. & *Rev.* : The same as above. The Monogram on the l. of rev. is clear but does not completely resemble any Kh. letter.

SPALARISES WITH AZES

1. Silver. Round, diameter, max. 1. 5″, min. 1″.

Pl. XI, 7

Obv. & *Rev.* : As of the hemidrachm size, described in the *P. M. C.*, p. 144, No. 395.

This is a better preserved specimen of a rare type.

It is also noteworthy that the first letter of the King's name in the Greek legend, which Whitehead takes as probably fore-shadowing the use of the new letter *sh* on the coins of Kanishka,[3] is very distinct on our coin, unlike the other specimens published in *B. M. C.* and *P. M. C.*

2. Copper. Roughly circular, diameter. 85″. 9″.

Pl. XI, 8

Obv. & *Rev.* : As on *P. M. C.*, p. 144, No. 396.

This is again a rare type and better specimen than published in *B. M. C.* and *P. M. C.*[4]

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1. Cf. *P.M.C.* Nos. 59, 75-6, 86,-100 and 104.
2. As known from those enlisted in the *B.M C.*, p. 102, Nos. 1-4 and in the *P.M.C.*, p. 144. No. 395. The *I.M.C.* mentions no coin of this type.
3. See *P.M.C.*, p. 144, n.
4. *B.M.C.* XXII. 4 ; *P.M.C.* XIV. 396.

ABDAGASES

One of the types struck by this prince bears his portrait on horseback, either to right or to left, on the obverse, and the figure of standing Zeus to right, on the reverse. This type is rare and the coins of this type showing the king to right are still rarer. The *B. M. C.* registers only three coins of the kind on p. 108, Nos. 13-15 none of which is illustrated, whereas it enlists as many as eight specimens showing the king to left, on pp. 107-8, Nos. 5-12, illustrating one of them on pl. XXIII, 2. Similarly the *P. M. C.*, which records only one specimen of the former kind, illustrating it on Pl. XV, 61, incluses two coins of the latter kind, i. e. showing the king's figure to left. The coin belonging to the M. N. S. A.[1] shows the king to right.

1. Base Silver. Diameter ·9″. **Pl. XI 9**

Obverse—King on horse-back to r.; in front, the Gondopharian symbol and an indistinct Monogram[2], Greek legend as on *P.M.C.*, p. 107, No. 5.

Reverse—Zeus and legend[3] as on the *B.M.C.* coin. Monogram in l. as *P.M.C.* No. 8; to r., Kh. *tre* and *sa*

This coin, though similar to the *P.M.C.* coin, shows the face and other limbs of the king more distinctly and on it the twofold ribbon of the diadem hanging down has a graceful curvature in the middle, unlike on its prototypes.

2-3. One of the types issued by Abdagases bears on the obverse his bust to left and on the reverse the figure of winged Nike, holding wreath and palm. This type, which is neither represented in the *B.M.C.* nor in the *P.M.C.*, but it was described by Cunningham in his work[4].

The legends on both these coins are no doubt particularly preserved, but there can be no doubt about the reading of the name of the king on the obverse. The portrait of the king too is clear. Their diameter are respectively ·85″ and ·8″.

Pl. XI 10-11.

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1. Museum of the Numismatic Society of America as also subsequently used in this article.

2. In the Greek legend on this type the last letter of the first two words is somewhat disputed; for whereas Whitehead reads them on his coin to be ⊏ and Y respectively, Gardner takes the first to be a Σ, and about the second he is doubtful. On the present coin both the letters appear to be Σ.

3. The Kh. legend on this coin does not include the word *tratarasa* as on its prototypes. All the letters of the legend on it are very clear.

4. Pl. XI, 4.

ORTHAGNES

The coins of Orthagnes are not very many, nor are they well preserved. The *I.M.C.* enlists four of them, of which none is illustrated, and Smith himself has remarked that they are all in bad condition.[1] The *P.M.C.* and the *B.M.C.* record four and seven of his coins respectively each illustrating one of them,[2] which too, as shown by the photographs, is not in a good state of preservation. Some other coins of Orthagnes are referred to by Whitehead in *P.M.C.* on p. 155, n. 1.

(1) Copper Round, diameter ·9″ **Pl. XI. 12.**

Obverse—Bust of king to l., diademed; wears torquis Gr. legend around the edge, XI, BACIΛEYC[3] BACI.........O[P]ΘΓANH[C]. Behind head, a star.

Reverse—Winged Nike to r.; holds wreath and palm. Kh. legend, XI,...*sa mahatasa Gudaphara-gu*......Monogram to r., Kh. *ga* (or *gu*); to l., Kh. *bu* (?)

(2) Metal, shape and size—As of No. 1 **Pl. XII. 1.**

Obverse—Bust as on No. 1 Gr. legend, VII-III,......... AC OPΘA BACIΛ......Rest not impressed.

Reverse—Nike and monograms as on No. 1, Kh. legend VIII,......*jasa mahatasa Gudapharasa* Ga......

PAKORES

These coins of Pakores are not only rare but also generally worn. The *I.M.C.* enlists eight coins of this ruler, illustrating only one of them on pl. IX 13, but the photograph shows it to be extremely worn; and Smith makes the same remark about the remaining seven coins. Half-a-dozen coins of this king are known to exist in the British Museum, and an equal number in the Punjab Museum, but from the one illustrated in either[4] all these specimens too do not appear to be well preserved. The two coins owned by the M.N.S.A. and illustrated here are better preserved.

1. *I.M.C.*, p. 57.

2. Pp. 155-6 and 109 respectively. The *Camb. Hist. of India.* I. illustrates one coin of this king on Pl. VIII, No. 51; it appears to be the same as the B.M.C. illustration.

3. The penultimate letter of this word is taken by Gardner as V and by Whitehead as Y. But it is missing on the illustrations given by both; on our coin it is a clear Y.

4. Pp, 156 and 110 respectively; for illustrations see Pl. XVI. 76 and Pl. XXIII, 8 respectively. The photograph of the *B.M.C.* coin is also reproduced in the *Camb. Hist. of India.* Pl. VIII. 55.

(1-2) Copper, Circular, diameter. 9″. **Pl. XII. 2-3**

Obv. & *Rev.* : As on *P.M.C.* No. 76 Gr. legend fragmentary; Kh. legend on No. 1 completing on No. 2 partly obliterated, Monogram on No. 1, Kh. *pu* to r. and *te* to l.; on No. 2 Kh. *Pha* to *r* and probably *vi* to l.

The former of these two coins shows the portrait better formed and the latter, different monograms.

KHARAHOSTES

Kharahostes, is another little known figure. His coins are very rare. Only the P.M.C. enlists two of the above type, one of which is illustrated on Pl. XVI, 91 The three coins belonging to the M.N.S.A. and illustrated here on **Pl. XII. 4-6** are of the same type. The size of these coins varies from. 7″ to 8″.

On the obverse, they show the same monogram as on the *P.M.C.* coin, i. e. Kh. *sam*, which is very clear on **Pl. XII. 5** but the reverse of coins **Pl. XII. 5** and **6** show an additional Kh. letter, appearing like *si* and *pha* respectively, just before the one as on the *P.M.C.* coin. The monogram on the r. of this side is X and it is helpful for deriving some important conclusion. This is probably derived from the Iranian *sa* and perhaps the same Iranian influence is responsibile for the lingualisation of the dental *ta* in the name of Kharahostes' father Arta.[1]

KADPHISES I

One of the coin-types struck by Kadphises I, shows the head of the king to right on the obverse, and the figure of an armed soldier on the reverse. This type is uncommon and a solitary specimen thereof is known to exist in the Indian Museum[2] but none in the Punjab Museum. Whitehead refers to and illustrates one coin-type,[3] as existing in the British Museum. The cabinet of the M.N.S.A. contains two beautiful coins of the present type which are much better preserved.

(1) Copper Circular, diameter. 7″. **Pl. XII. 7**

Obverse : Head of king r., wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns and also trousers. Gr. legend in peculiar form of letters, VIII-VI, K.........O KOZOYΛO K[A]......From VIII to XII only traces visible.

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1. See *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 202-3.
2. *I.M.C.*, I, p. 66 and Pl. XI 2.
3. *P.M.C.* p. 214.

Reverse: Armed soldier, wearing a *kausia*-like helmet to r., with spear in r. hand and shield. Kh. legend around the edge, V, *Kuyula ka[ph]sasa kushana yavugasa*.

(2) Metal, shape and size, the same.

Obverse and Reverse: The same as above with fragmentary legends. **Pl. XII. 8**

Coins of Kadphises with "Roman Head and Deity on curule chair" are numerous, but those which show the motifs and the legends complete are rare. For whereas the *P.M.C.* illustrates only the obverse of a solitary coin out of five enlisted,[1] on the illustration of *I. M. C.* the Greek legend, which shows only the word ZAOOY, has faded away and the Kh. legend is fragmentary[2]; and on another which was obtained in excavations at Taxila the legend on the obverse is altogether obliterated and on the reverse it is not well preserved.[3]

(3-4) Æ. Circular, diameter, 7″ **Pl. XII. 9-10 (Obv. only).**

Obverse: Diademed head to r., closely resembling that of Augustus. Greek legend, IX: XOPANCY ZAOOY......AΦE⊏.

Reverse: Deity (or King ?) seated r. on seat like curule chair; r. hand extended; l. hand holding some object. On l. Monogram as *P. M. C.* No. 3, Kh. legend, VIII, *Kaphsasa sachadhramathitasa khushanasa yaulasa* with initial 4-5 letters losing their upper parts, probably because of the defective arrangement of the flan.

No. 1 is a beautiful coin with both its legends well engraved and complete, whereas No. 2 shows the name of the king complete in the Gr. legend, not to be found on coins referred to above.

KADPHISES

AV. Round, diameter 1″ **Pl. XII. 11**

Obverse: Within square frame bust of king to l., wearing diadem and coat buttoned at neck; a twig-like object probably the fork of a trident or royal insignia(?) held up in r. hand; l. hand resting on bottom edge of frame. Above and below, dotted circle, and over top edge of frame,

1. Pl. XVII, 24. 2. Pl. XI. 3.
3. *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1914-5, p. 33. No. 39.

Monogram as *P. M. C.* No. 4. Gr. legend, I-V. BACIEYC OOH ; VII-XI MO KAΔϕICHC.

Reverse : Śiva standing to front, head l. ; body radiate, hair tied in a knot; necklace round body and over l, shoulder ; holding trident in r. hand and leaning with l, arm on the hump of a bull standing behind him to r., Kh. legend around the edge, XII, *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa sarvalogaisvarasa mahisvarasa himakapishasa tratarasa.* Monogram to l. as *P. M. C.* No. 2.

This is a new type of double-stater of the king. The motif on its obverse is the same as on a solitary specimen existing in the British Museum and another in the Punjab Museum,[1] but they are quarter-staters and show the king's face to the right and not the left as on it. Its reverse is the same as of the double-staters in the British and the Punjab Museum illustrated respectively in their *Catalogues* on Pl. XXV, 6-7 and Pl. XVII, 31 and 36 ; but its obverse motif is different. In all these respects our coin resembles the only known specimen published by Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* VI, No. 10, Pl. XXXIV, 19, but on it, the head of the deity is turned to the right whereas on the present one it is turned to left, and thus the coin is noteworthy.[2]

KANISHKA

(1) AV. Round, diameter. 8″. **Pl. XII. 12**

Obverse : As on *P. M. C.*, p. 187, No. 61.

Reverse : Bearded deity, diademed and holding a trident in r. hand, on horse to r. Gr. legend on the r. and reading inside, MOZΔOOANO. Monogram to l. as *P. M. C.* No. 4.

In its obverse this stater is identical with those enlisted in the *B. M. C.* pp. 130 ff. or in the *P. M. C.*, pp. 187 f., but its reverse is different. A specimen fully agreeing with it now exists in the British Museum ; it is illustrated in the *P. M. C.* on Pl. XX. vi ; but as shown from the photographs the present specimen is much better preserved, giving both the legends complete and the motifs with all their details very clear.

1. *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXV. 10 and *P.M.C.* Pl. XVII, 34 respectively.

2. What is above the forehead of Śiva has been described by Whitehead as 'flames arising from head'' but more appropriately the object may be identified as the hair-knot as I have done here. The excellent workmanship on this coin is also shown by the initial letter of the legend on the reverse which is precisely on the hair-knot on the head of Siva resembling a crescent.

(2) AV. Round, diameter .5″. **Pl. XII. 13**

Obverse–The same as above.

Reverse–As on *P.M.C.* coin No. 61

In type, this quarter-starter resembles the *P.M.C.* illustration on Pl. XVII. 63, but the latter varies in size and is a stater. A quarter-stater of Kanishka showing the Sun God on the reverse is not described or illustrated in any of the published *Catalogues*, though the *P.M.C.* refers to one specimen of the type and size but with the inscription MIΘPO as existing in the British Museum[1]. Being in an excellent state of preservation, our coin shows all the details more closely than the stater illustrated in the P.M.C.

VĀSUDEVA

AV. Round diameter .5″. **Pl. XII. 14**

Obv. and *Rev.* –As in *B M.C.*, p. 159 No. 4. Inscription on rev. OPKO for OESHO.

Quarter-staters of Vāsudeva with reverse of OESHO are described and illustrated by Gardner and Whitehead[2] but they are all with bull behind the deity. Gardner also describes and illustrates a specimen of the present type[3] but it is a stater, varying in diameter and weight. I know of two quarter-staters fully resembling the present one: one described by Cunnigham and the other by P. L. Gupta.

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1. p. 194, xiii.

2. *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXIX, 11 and *P.M.C.*, Pl. XIX, 212 respectively.

3. *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXIX, 9.

THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE KUSHĀṆA, THE KUSHĀṆA CHIEFS AND THE SASSANIAN GOLD COINS FROM THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY

The gold coins of the Kushāṇas, the Kushāṇa Chiefs and the Sassanians offer very interesting side-light on the contemporary economic and political life. For this purpose we have thoroughly studied all the gold coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But unfortunately we have had to reject some of them which are attached with a ring or which have a hole inside.[1] The number of the coins utilised in this paper does not agree with the total number as shown in V. A. Smith's *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum* Vol. 1 since a few of the coins mentioned in the *Catalogue* are now missing from the Museum. In testing the coins we obtained the valuable help of Mr. Bose and Miss Khatun of the Coin Department, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Thus, a careful study of 99 coins of the Kushāṇas and others have been given below in the hope that they will throw fresh light on some of the problems of Kushāṇa history and the period of history that followed the Kushāṇas.

From the point of view of gold content we may group our coins in the following categories :—

GROUP A.

IMPERIAL KUSHĀṆAS

1.	Kadphises II	119	grains
2.	Kanishka I	117·5	„
3.	Huvishka (=? I. Gr. A)	115·3	„
4.	Huvishka (=? II. Gr. B)	110·7	grains
5.	Vāsudeva (=? I)	102·5 to 108·8	„
6.	Vāsu (=? II Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	100·4	„
7.	Kanēshkọ (=? Kanishka II)	98·00	„

GROUP B.

KUSHĀṆA CHIEFS

1.	Chhu	93·00	Grains

1. Smith, *IMC.* I. p. 68-92.

2. Peyasa	91·5	Grains
3. Sayatha	89	,,
4. Saṇa	86·6	,,
5. Sita	84·4	,,
6. Bhadra	79·5	,,
7. Bacharṇa	79·2	,,
8. Pāsaka	29·2	,,

GROUP C.

LITTLE KUSHĀṆAS

1. Kṛitavīrya	76·7	Grains
2. Viśva	75·5	,,
3. Not assignable	71·4	,,
4. Sarvayaśa	61·00	,,

GROUP D.

KUSHĀṆO-SASSANIANS

1. Sassanians	107·9	Grains

× × × × ×

It can be very well suggested that the coins of the kings listed above were minted in the same chronological order as given above on the principle of Gresham's Law. Of course, regarding the Sassanians, their gold coins are even purer than Vāsudeva of the Imperial Kushāṇa dynasty. But in this connection another economic implication should be profitably remembered, i. e. with the decline of the political fortunes of a dynasty the gold content of its coinage declined. Such is the case with the Kushāṇas and the Guptas.[1]

With the exception of the Kushāṇa chief Pāsaka (Table II) the average content of the gold of the Kushāṇa chiefs are higher than the economically depressed Little Kushāṇas. Both these groups of coins are economically much inferior to that of the early Gupta kings.[2]

Kadphises I did not issue gold coins. His son and successor Kadphises II introduced gold currency along with other metallic coins. We have also to note that the average gold content of his coins are very high. Among them number 2 of *IMC* contains 100% gold. From the point of view of purity the coins of Kanishaka I are less by 1½ grains to that of his

1. S. K. Maity, *Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 202.
2. Ibid.

immediate predecessor Kadphises II. Thus, following the principles of Gresham Law we can very well suggest that the Kanishaka group of kings succeeded the Kadphises group.

Our analysis of the coins leads to the classification of the coins of Huvishka in two groups (A & B) which may suggest the existence of two Huvishkas as pointed out by A. L. Basham.[1] But from the point of view of design and fabric we cannot group them so rigidly.

We have no gold coins of Vāsishka at our disposal. This may, however, point to the short rule of Vāsishka. Our study of the coins also points out the existence of 2 Vāsudevas (I and II) and 2 Kanishkas (I & II).

The Political history of the Kushānas after Vāsudeva I is very difficult to follow. The most important among them are perhaps Kanishka II and Vāsu or Vāsudeva II. The former is known to us from the Ārā inscription and from his coins and the latter is known mainly from his gold coins. Vāsu or Vasudeva II may be identical with the Yüeh-Chih king Po–t'iao of the Chinese annals. He sent political mission to the Chinese king in A.D. 230.[2]

That the Kushāṇa chiefs who had perhaps ruled under the sway of the Imperial Kushāṇas, had enjoyed peace and prosperity under them is also reflected from their gold coins. But after the passing away of the great Kushāṇas, the Little Kushāṇas, for sometime, somehow or other maintained their existence in the Punjab and Afganistan.

They were ultimately defeated by the powerful Śakas and Sassanians. This political turmoil has some reflection on the debased gold coins of the Little Kushāṇas (Table II). On the other hand from this study of coins we can also notice the affluence of the rising power of the Sassanians.

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1. *B. S. O. A. S.* (1957) 77-85. [F. W. Thomas was perhaps the first to make this suggestion in *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 108 ff. Allan was supposed to be working on the possibility of classifying two Huvishkas in the coins. I am also of the same opinion and expect to present shortly a classification of the coins of Huvishka into two groups attributable to Huvishka I and II respectively—*AKN.*]

2. *Age of Imperial Unity.* p. 151.

TABLE I.

Laboratory report of the Kushāṇa, Kushāṇa Chief and the Sassanian gold coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Serial Number	Name of the king	IMC, Number	Specific gravity of the coins. (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32).	Percentage of pure gold	General Remarks
1	Kadphises II.	1	18·92	97·9%	
2	,,	2	19·32	100%	
3	,,	3	19·05	98·5	
4	,,	4	18·88	97·6	
5	Kaṇishka I	1	19·20	99·2	
6	,,	2	18·50	95·6	
7	,,	3	19·19	99·1	
8	,,	4	19·25	99·5	
9	,,	4a	18·92	97·9	
10	,,	5	19·0	98·2	
11	,,	6	18·80	97·1	
12	,,	7	19·07	98·5	
13	,,	8	18·72	96·9	
14	,,	9	18·97	98·0	
15	,,	10	18·58	96·0	
16	,,	10a	19·19	99·1	
17	,,	11	18·72	96·9	
18	,,	12	18·48	95·4	
19	,,	13	19·23	99·3	
20	,,	14	18·53	95·8	

Group	Serial Number	Name of the king	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins. (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32).	Percentage of pure gold	General Remarks
Group B	21	Huvishka	1	18·78	97·00	
	22	,,	2	19·24	99·30	
	23	,,	3	18·97	98·00	
	24	,,	4	18·60	96·10	
	25	,,	5	19·19	99·20	
	26	,,	6	19·16	99·1	
	27	,,	7	19·09	98·7	
	28	,,	9	18·62	96·2	
	29	,,	10	17·68	91·4	Very small coin
	30	,,	12	18·41	95·1	
	31	,,	13	18·80	97·1	
	32	,,	14	19·15	99·0	
	33	,,	16	18·43	95·3	
	34	,,	18	18·71	96·7	
Group A	35	,,	8	18·4	95·0	
	36	,,	11	18·24	94·3	
	37	,,	15	17·91	92·6	
	38	,,	17	18·05	93·2	
	39	,,	19	18·15	93·8	
	40	,,	20	18·17	93·85	
	41	Vāsudeva	1	18·43	95·3	
	42	,,	2	18·57	96·0	
	43	,,	3	18·92	98·0	

Serial Number	Name of the king	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins. (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32).	Percentage of pure gold	General Remarks
44	Vāsudeva	4	18·51	95·6	
45	„	5	18·87	97·5	
46	„	6	18·98	98·1	
47	„	7	16·65	86·1	
48	Vasu (=? Vasudeva Kushāṇa)	1	16.69	86.2	
49		2	15.89	82.1	
50		3	15.50	80.1	
51		4	16.91	87.5	
52		5	15.50	80.1	
53		6	16.79	86.8	
54		7	16.00	82.7	
55	Kaneshko	1	17.97	92.8	
56	„	3	17.86	92.3	
57		4	18.84	97.5	
58	„	5	17.03	88.1	
59		6	16.93	87.6	
60	„	7	17.16	88.6	
61	Vāsudeva	9	17.62	91.2	
SUNDRY-CHIEFS					
62	Bhadra	1	12.88	66.5	
63	Very doubtful	2	12.36	63.8	
64	„	*2a*	13.60	70.3	

Serial Number	Name of the king	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins. (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32).	Percentage of Pure gold.	General Remarks
65	Sayatha	3	13.54	70.0	
66	,,	4	14.58	75.3	
67	,,	5	14.78	76.4	
68	Sita	6	13.34	69.0	
69	,,	7	14.09	72.8	
70	,,	8	13.23	68.5	
71	,,	9	14.15	73.15	
72	,,	10	14.09	72.8	
SASSANIAN CHIEFS					
73	Saṇa	11	14·05	72·6	
74	Bacharṇa	12	13·09	67·6	
75	Chhu	13	15·91	82·3	
76	Pāsaka	14	8·63	44·7	[It is greatly alloyed with brass and looks almost black.]
77	Peyasa	15 (Addenda) pp. 127	14·68	75·9	
LITTLE KUSHĀṆA					
78	Kṛtavīrya	1	12·31	63·7	
79	,,	1*a*	12·38	64·0	
80	,,	2	11·51	59·52	
81	Saravayaśa	3	10·44	54·0	
82	Viśva	4	12·17	62·9	
83	Not Assignable	5	11·95	61·8	
84	,,	6	12·15	62·87	

Serial Number	Name of the king	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins, (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32).	Percentage of Pure gold	General Remarks
85	Not Assignable	7	12·42	64·3	
86	,,	8	12·46	64·5	
87	,,	9	12·39	64·0	
88	,,	10	12·38	64·0	
89	,,	11	12·14	62·9	
90	,,	12	11·92	61·7	
91	,,	13	12·15	62·9	
92	,,	14	12·39	64·0	
93	,,	15	10·04	52·0	
94	,,	15*a*	8·81	45·6	
95	KUSHĀNO-ŚASSANIAN	1	16·70	86·45	
96	,,	2	16·20	83·75	
97	,,	3	16·54	85·75	
98	,,	4	18·70	96·6	
99	,,	5	18·24	94·3	

TABLE II.

Abstract of Table I, showing pure gold content of coins :—

Group Number	King	Average weight in air (grains)	Average Percentage of pure gold	Average content of pure gold (grains)	General Remarks
1	Kadphises II	121·1	98·5	119	Kings have been arranged here in the order followed by Smith in *IMC*. But for our order and economic implications please see the re-arrangement given earlier on pp. 162-63
2	Kaṇishka	120·45	97·67	117·5	
3	Huvishka (B)	119·7	96·05	110·7	
4	Huvishka (A)	123·6	93·45	115·3	
5	Vāsudeva Kushāna	117·85	95·23	102·5	
6	Vāsu (=? Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	120·3	83·66	100·4	
7	Kanishko	107·1	91·15	98·05	
8	Vāsudeva	119·2	91·2	108·8	
9	Bhadra	119·0	66·86	79·5	
10	Sayatha	120·25	73·91	89	
11	Sita	118·3	71·25	84·4	
12	Saṇa	119·2	72·6	86·6	
13	Bacharṇa	117	67·6	79·25	
14	Chhu	113	82·3	93	
15	Pāsaka	65·3	44·7	29·2	
16	Peyasa (Addenda)	120·25	75·9	91·5	
17	Kritavīrya	123	62·4	76·7	
18	Sarvayaśa	112·8	54·01	61	

Group Number	King	Average weight in air (grains)	Average Percentage of pure gold	Average content of pure gold (grains)	General Remarks
19	Viśva	120	62·9	75·5	
20	Not Assignable	118·6	60 05	71·4	
21	Kushāno-Sāssānīan	120·8	89·37	107 9	

ON THE COIN OF KSHATRAPA VIŚVASENA (°SIṀHA) DATED 125.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

In this *Journal*[1] Shri P. J. Chinmulgund has published a silver coin of the Western Kshatrapa with the fragmentary legend "......*putasa Rajña Kshatrapasa Viśva*......" and the date 125. On the strength of this coin, he has suggested the existence of a new Kshatrapa named Viśvasiṁha (°sena), who ruled concurrently with Rudrasena I, when he became Mahākshatrapa in the year 122.

The coin is very badly reproduced in the *Journal* and it is not possible to ascertain the correctness of the reading of the date 125 for any reader from it. But with the kind courtsey of Shri Chinmulgund I had the good opportunity to examine the coin and there could be no doubt about this reading of the date. The symbol for 100 is absolutely clear and perfect and there are no additions to it to denote 200 or 300. Thus there is every possibility for an assumption like that of Shri Chinmulgund.

But, there are other facts, which do not admit the existence of any Kshatrapa, whosoever he may be, in or about 125 as ruling concurrently with Rudrasena I. The family tradition, as revealed by the mass of the coins that we have, shows that the persons holding the title of Kshatrapa existed only towards the end of the reign of a Mahākshatrapa. The title of Kshatrapa was held by them only for a short period and they were soon promoted to the rank of Mahākshatrapa. Rūdrasiṁha I is known as Kshatrapa just before his rise to Mahākshatrapaship. No Kshatrapa is known during the 18 years of his Mahākshatrapaship. Satyadāman in all probability was Kshatrapa for a while towards the end of his reign. Again, Rūdrasena I was Kshatrapa only for about two years, towards the end of the rule of Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman and just before his own promotion as Mahākshatrapa. It is only in the last year of his reign, i.e. in 144 and in the beginning of the reign of his brother successor Saṁghadāman, that we see Pṛithivīsena the son of Rudrasena I, as Kshatrapa for just a while. During the reign of Saṁghadāman and the early part of the reign of his younger brother Dāmasena, we find no Kshatrapa. It is only during the last seven years of the latter's Mahākshatrapaship that we have a chain of Kshatrapas from

1. Vol. XVIII, p. 49.

154 to 160 viz. Dāmajadaśrī II, (154-5), Vīradāman, (156-60), Yaśodāman (160) and Vijayasena (160). But each of them was occupying this office only for a short period. Then again we find Vijayasena as Mahākshatrapa for about 11 years, (162-172) Dāmajadaśrī, his younger brother, for about 5 years and Vijayasena's son Rūdrasena II for 22 or 23 years. During these 40 years we do not find a single Kshatrapa. It is only at the end of the reign of Rūdrasena II, (177-204 ?) that we find his sons Viśvasiṁha and Bhartṛidāman as Kshatrapas (197-204). Again we have Viśvasena only towards the end of his father's i.e. Bhartṛidāman's Mahākshatrapaship. As such there appears nothing like concurrent rule of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas.

These facts indicate that it was customary among these rulers to confer the title of Kshatrapa to the heir-apparent towards the end of the rule of the Mahākshatrapa and the authority of issuing coins in his own name was also given. This title was perhaps given at a time when the end of the Mahākshatrapa was apprehended in the near future. This is borne out by the fact that some of the princes like Sanghadāman and Dāmasena became Mahākshatrapas straightway without being Kshatrapas. This only shows that their predecessors died suddenly, and were thus unable to appoint the formal heir-apparent. Those who were made Kshatrapas as we have seen above, held the posts for a very short period and soon became Mahākshatrapas. Coins of most of them, e.g. Rūdrasiṁha I, Rūdrasena I, Pṛithivīsena, Yaśodāman and Vijayasena belong only to the years which coincided with the terminating years of the foregoing Mahākshatrapas.

In view of these facts, there could be no Kshatrapa, whosoever he may be, in the middle of the reigning period of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I. It cannot be assumed that Rūdrasena I would have nominated any one as a Kshatrapa, only two or three years after his succession to Mahākshatrapaship, in the year 125.

Had the Kshatrapas ruled concurrently with the Mahākshatrapas, we should have had at least a few coins of the Kshatrapas in the running series of dates concurrent with the series of the Mahākshatrapas in one or the other hoards. In view of the regular series of dates on the coins issued by the Mahākshatrapas, the absence of the Kshatrapa coins of the middle periods can in no way be explained better than by this theory.

So to me, the date on the present coin does not bear any historical importance. It may be due to the carelessness of the

engraver of the die. He missed the tail at the end of the symbol 100 to make it represent 200. This tail is so small that on many coins it looks like a mere point. As such the coin may well belong to the Kshatrapa Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛidāman, who is known to be occupying this position from the year 215 onward.

In fact the present coin is not the only specimen with this freak date. A coin of Kshatrapa Viśvasena, with fuller legend on the reverse as *Rājño Ma(hā)kshatrapasa Bhartṛidāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatra(pasa Viśva)sanasah*, similar to the present coin, has the date 125.[1] The figure of 100 on that coin is absolutely clear; yet Rapson has catalogued it with the date 225. As such, this coin can well be taken as another specimen of this wrong date.

Two other coins assigned with the dates 2xx[2] and 22x[3] in the British Museum Catalogue, have the symbol for 100 without the tail and can well be read as 100. If the dates on these coins is taken as 100, we will have to believe that there were two Bhartṛidāmans with their father's name as Rudrasena and two Rūdrasiṁha having the paternal name Svāmī Jīva-dāman. But obviously it could not be so.

We can only infer that the engravers were careless towards the declining period of the dynasty.

1. *B.M.C.,A.K.*, pl. XVI, Coin 741. 2. Ibid, Coin 709.
3. Ibid, Coin 767.

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE AŚVAMEDHA TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

Among the large number of Gupta coins so far known only two kings issued Aśvamedha type, one of which is attributed to Kumāragupta I whose name is contained in the legend on the coin. Another Aśvamedha type which is far superior to that of Kumāragupta I from the artistic point of view, is of pure gold and not debased like the other one. Before entering into further discussion it is better to describe the type usually attributed to Samudragupta.

Obv. : Horse standing (left) before a sacrificial post from which pennons fly over its back ; on some specimens a pedestal below. Beneath horse the letter *si*; *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīmavitvā* (or *vijitya*) *divaṁ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ.*[1]

Rev. : Queen standing (left), wearing a loose robe and jewellery, holding *chowrie* over right shoulder in right hand ; left hanging by her side ; on left is a sacrificial spear[2] bound with fillet ; around her feet a chain (?) extending round spear and on some specimens gourd (?) at feet. No symbol. Legend : *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*.

This type has been so far unanimously attributed to Samudragupta who, according to scholars, issued it to commemorate the Aśvamedha sacrifice he performed after his *digvijaya*, a graphic description of which is found in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.[3] The description of the coin-type detailed above shows that nowhere on the coin is mentioned the name of the king who struck it and yet the coin is said to be the issue of Samudragupta only on the basis of the title '*aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*' and the legend in the *Upagīti* metre resembling the description of the king as given in the Allahabad *praśasti*.

The absence of the name of the issuing authority on the coin deserves serious consideration.[4] A casual examination of all the

1. It was originally read as *Rājādhirājah Prithivim avitvā divaṁ Jayati aprativāryamviryah* by Allan in BMC. C. G. D., p. 21 But it was corrected by Venis, cf. Altekar *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard* pp lxiii-lxiv

2. This is probably a sacrificial *sūchi* See *Coinage of the Gupta Empire* p. 66.

3. Fleet : CII. vol III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1.

4. [Cf. Altekar, *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. lxiii-lxiv. The Allahabad Pillar inscription states that *Parākrama* was the *aṅka* or the characteristic title of Samudragupta so *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* was quite sufficient to indicate the name of the issuer. On one variety of the gold coins of Budhagupta also only his *biruda* '*Vikrama*' occurs, cf. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 278.—*AKN*.]

coin-types of Samudragupta, except the one under discussion, shows that the name of the emperor Samudragupta, under whom they were struck, is invariably mentioned in the legend on the coins. It is therefore rather strange that the Aśvamedha type, the best specimen among the emperor's coin types commemorating the most important and glorious event of his reign, should not bear his name. It can by no means be ascribed either to the negligence of the mintmasters or to the reluctance on the part of the emperor.

Another important point deserving attention is that the Aśvamedha type is perfectly Indian and is devoid of any foreign influence which is visible on the other types of Samudragupta. It is highly improbable to think that one fine morning the mint-masters of the Imperial Guptas struck a purely Indian coin with absolutely no Kushāṇa influence whatsoever though they were accustomed to copy slavishly even the meaningless monograms from the Kushāṇa prototypes.

All this goes to show that the Aśvamedha type was perhaps not struck by Samudragupta; for had he been the issuing authority he would have certainly mentioned his name in the legend on the coin as he did on all other coin-types of his own.

Before finding a solution to the problem, it is necessary to find out when the Aśvamedha was performed by Samudra-gupta. The very absence of even the slightest reference to Aśvamedha in the well-known Allahabad Pillar inscription indicates that it was performed very late in his career; or else the poet Harisheṇa would not have lost the unique opportunity of describing this glorious event graphically in his *Praśasti*. Moreover, he cannot be credited with many Aśva-medhas (*anekāśvamedhayāji*) as is described in the Poona Copper Plates of Prabhavatigupta.[1] He performed only one Aśvamedha and that too at the fag-end of his life for he practically had very little time at his disposal after his conquests.[2] Evidently he could not issue the Aśvamedha type in spite of his desire to do so. Chandragupta II, who was deliberately preferred for the throne[3] to all his sons by Samudragupta, may have realized the cherished desire of his father and he fulfilled it by issuing the type in question in the memory of his loving father.

This explains the absence of Samudragupta's name on the coin as also the absence of Kushāṇa influence on it. By the time the Gupta empire reached its very acme under Chandra-

1. *E.I.*, XV, 41.
2. *A.B.O.R.I.*, VII, 164-65.
3. Fleet: *C.I.I.* Vol. III. *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 4; 12 & 13.

gupta II, the Gupta mint-masters had gained sufficient experience in minting indigenous coinage and they were mature enough to produce a purely Indian coin-type. The numismatic art reached its zenith under Chandragupta II and this accounts for the artistic excellence of the type under discussion. In order to cherish the memory of his father, Chandragupta II specially struck this Aśvamedha type, the legend on which reminds one of similar description of Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. The title *aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* on the reverse is probably coined after the title '*vyāghraparākramaḥ*' found on the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta. Moreover, in all probablity, Chandragupta II must not have liked the idea of including the name of Samudragupta in the legend on the coin as the person in whose memory the coins were struck, was no more. Instances are not altogether wanting in Indian history which show that the successors also issued coins and medals in the memory of their predecessors. The best instance to quote is that of Samudragupta himself who issued the famous 'King-and-Queen' type medals in the memory of his father Chandragupta I[1], the founder of the Gupta empire. Samudragupta's successor Chandragupta II did the same by issuing the Aśvamedha type. It is better to call the Aśvamedha coins medals as their relatively small number suggests that they were not meant for day-to-day transactions.

1. Allan: *BMC.*, *CGD.* pp. lxiv-lxviii. But see *contra.*, Altekar, *Coinage af the Gupta Empire,* pp. 26-32. [This is a controversial example and hence a more suitable one is needed to prove the point.—*AKN.*]

ON KING-AND-QUEEN-ON-COUCH TYPE COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

S. V. SOHONI

No Viṇā type coin of Chandragupta II has yet been discovered. His couch type coins were obviously modelled on his father's Viṇā type.

The king-and-queen-on-couch type, which was a further development, was obviously another innovation of Chandragupta II. Only two specimens of this type have been published so far.[1] The main problem connected with this type is the determination of the legend or legends occurring on it. I have nothing yet to suggest on the subject of the reconstruction of the legends read so far.

I venture to offer the following suggestions regarding the description of the composition on the reverse —

(1) The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type was recalled in this context, in respect of two details—

(a) Firstly, a similarity in appearance between head dresses of the king on the two coin-types has been noted. There is, however, a slight difference between the dresses of the king on the reverse and the obverse ; and this difference holds good in respect of the *pugrees* also. On the obverse the king has been shown in his military dress (of *vārabāṇa* and *khapusa* boots) ; and on the reverse, he is without any foot wear, etc.

(b) Secondly, following his identification of the object held by Chandragupta I in front of Kumāradevī on the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type, Dr. Altekar has concluded that Hoernle was incorrect in suggesting that the king on the reverse of this type was shown holding a wine glass ; and has identified what he thought was "an object with a fairly long handle and a circular top", again with a *sindūradāni*[2]. According to him, this object is clearly shown on the specimen from the Hamilton collection ; and on the second specimen, the object offered by the king is indistinct."

What Hoernle thought was a wine glass held up by the king in his right hand, and what Dr. Altekar thought was a *sindūradāni*, is really a finger of the right palm of the king. In other words, nothing was shown as held in the right hand. *It was empty*. The fingers of the right palm have been

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 51-55, 1956
2. *Guptakālīna Mudāryen*, pp. 96-98

deliberately exaggerated as regards their length on the Standard Type coins of Samudragupta and on coins of Kācha. Their length has been exaggerated even on the obverse of the two specimens of this very type itself. Drawings of fingers on later coin-types of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I are more accurate in their proportion. Yet another characteristic of finger drawings on earlier Gupta coinage is a bulbous third phalanx.[1] A finger with an exaggerated length with a bulbous top was interpreted as a wine glass by Hoernle in these circumstances.

(2) That nothing was held on the right palm of the king on the reverse, much less was an object being offered to the queen sitting so closely in front, would be clear from the same pedestrian process of reasoning as was applied to the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type.[2] The queen, admittedly, is reclining, with the weight of her torso on her right hand, kept on the couch. Her left hand has been folded above the waist in front. In other words, she has been shown having made no movement to take anything from the king; and had the king really been offering her any article, not proceeding to take it would have been a gross breach of etiquette. That the right hand of the king is empty is very clearly seen on the photograph of the second specimen described by Dr. Altekar.

3. One thus gets a composition of a king and his queen seated on a couch, *in conversation.* Such composition was a favourite theme in Amaravati sculptures and Ajanta paintings. Particular reference is invited to the Ajanta painting showing a king and his queen and attendants in a palace pavilion, printed as plate XV of Lady Herringham's "Ajanta Frescoes", where the postures of the king and the queen are almost similar to those shown on this coin type; and a spittoon near the couch is also a common feature.

4. I have explained elsewhere[3] that the king in military dress shown on the obverse as performing the fire oblation ceremony indicated the preparation for setting out on a military expedition or *raṇayātrā*; and that on the reverse could be detected a *vāsaka-sajjikā* scene. It was also noted that Chandragupta II issued a Horseman coin-type, which invariably incorporated this scheme of idea. His king-and-queen-on-couch type developed that theme.

5. The legend on one of the two specimens of this type, as deciphered by Dr. Altekar, would support a conclusion that the king had concluded his conquest and was reigning supreme

1. *Bayana Hoard Catalogue,* Plate II.10
2. *JNSI,* Vol. XIX, pp 145-155
3. *JBRS,* Vol. XIII pp. 417-423

on the earth, *Rathimathotirathaḥ pravaraḥ kshitau*[1] The *vāsaka-sajjikā* idea was born in the context of the universal sovereignty. It was originally expressed in terms of the goddess of wealth and prosperity viz. Lakshmī, awaiting a hero's return. Later on, the queen was substituted for goddess.

If all this were broadly correct what could be the meaning of the *gesture* of Chandragupta II in raising the right palm to the level of the eyes of his queen ? It is clear that the queen has been shown intently looking at the hollow of the palm whose fingers have been kept at such an angle as to emphasise the inside of it. To my mind, there can be only one interpretation of this gesture made during a conversation : the king was telling his queen how he had subjugated the earth as if it were on the palm of his hand.[2] This interpretation would make the composition consistent with the legends read on the specimens. It would also fit in with the career of Chandragupta Vikramāditya and Dhruvasvāminī.

Chief Editor's Note

When the original data are uncertain it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion. Etiquettes are not always followed in the privacy of a palace chamber, where the king and the queen retire for relaxation and share the same couch. Is not the queen's sitting at ease in a reclining position when the king is conversing with her sitting erect, a breach of etiquette ? So the queen's making no move to receive the gift does not by itself negative the possibility of a gift being actually offered to her by the king.

Whether a knobbed object like the *Sindūrdānī* is being held in the hand by the king or whether the knobbed object is only a finger is difficult to decide when we have only two specimens, one of which is indistinct. On Hoernle's coin, reproduced in *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. IX, 6, majority of scholars may perhaps feel that the knobbed thin object is not a finger, but some object of gift. On the coin in the Hamilton collection, now in the Hindu University, reproduced in *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* Pl. XIX, 10, the palm of the right hand and its contents are quite hazy, and no definite conclusion can be drawn. The legends of these two specimens are different and so the right palms also may have been differently shown.

I may add that in the Māndhātā sculpture from Jagayyapeth (Amaravati), the right hand is in the Abhayamudrā and the left hand

1. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 346
2. Cf :—Bāṇabhatta's description of Śūdraka in the Kādambarī p. 28, (Choukhamba Sanskrit Series) : *akaramapi-hasta-sthita-sakalabhuvana-talam.*

I would also invite attention to the famous representation of Māndhātā found at Jagayapetta (Amaravati) which shows him with a raised right hand, the palm being held up almost in the same style as the right palm of Chandragupta II on the reverse of this coin type (vide p. 427 and pl VIII. 8 J. N. Banerjea's *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956.)

is definitely holding a Maṇi, one of the traditional Seven Jewels of the Chakravartin, its exposed hollow is not being shown. See Pl. XVI A, in B. Rowland's *The Art and Architecture of India.* The pose of neither palm resembles that of any palm of Chandragupta II on the present coin type.

Unless clearer specimens become available, it would not be easy to state whether the king is offering anything to the queen or whether only the hollow of the palm is being shown.

Author's Reply

I submit that original data so far as depiction of this gesture on reverse composition is concerned are absolutely clear ; that Chandragupta Vikramāditya's right hand is empty ; and that nothing is held in it.

As regards the suggestion that on the coin in the Hamilton collection the contents of the palm of the right hand are "quite hazy," all that I would say is that even on a photograph it is very clear that the right hand is empty. According to my pedestrian analysis, it is not ordinary experience that the fingers of a palm are kept apart while holding an article.

As regards the suggestion, "The legends of these two specimens are different and so the right palms may have been differenrly shown", my point is that Hoernle mistook a finger for a wine-glass and that this was further mistaken for a *sindurdāni*. If this point were conceded, the difference between the two right palms drawings vanishes altogether.

Further, any assumption, "of the privacy of a palace chamber," is unfounded. I have discussed this aspect in my article on Couch-type coins of this king, which I am publishing elsewhere. Briefly, these compositions show a king sitting either in *bāhyāsthāna-maṇḍapa* or *bhuktāsthāna-maṇḍapa* ; and there are well known descriptions of such a scene in Sanskrit literature, e. g. in Bāṇabhatta's *Kādambarī* and *Harshacharita*. The subject of palace architecture and relation with it of a king's daily routine, have been discussed very ably in V. S. Agrawala's *Harshacharita : eka Sānskritika Adhyayana* (pp. 203-208) and also in his *Kādambari eka Sānskritika Adhyayana* (pp. 22-24). It is also evident from a number of famous paintings at Ajanta and sculptures from Ellora and Amaravati that was shown on these Couch-type coins is a bare minimum of what was always a crowded scene. This alone is sufficient to indicate that considerations of etiquette could not have been dispensed with in a *maṇḍapa* scene ; and I doubt whether, in ancient India, they could have been discarded even during conditions of privacy.

As regards the Māndhātā's sculpture, the common points are—

(1) The raised right hand.

(2) The exposed hollow of the right palm— exposed according to the location of the spectator.

Another relevant detail is that Mandhātā is regarded as the first Chakravartin according to the epics and the Purāṇas ; and I

have already suggested that the Viṇā type, from which the Couch type was developed, was struck in the context of an assumption of universal sovereignty. For these reasons, I submit that there is some similarity between the two *gestures.* I have not said that the pose is identical.

Māndhātā was also regarded as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu and was for that reason also of profound interest to a Vaishṇava king. In this context, an important passage in the *Harshacharita* deserves being quoted, as it throws some light on the legends of the two specimens of this coin-type also.

"*Mandhātrā pravartitāḥ panthāno digvijayāya apratihataratha-raṁhasā*" etc. (*H. Ch.* p. 213 Nirṇaya Sagar Edition, 1918).

In the Gupta period, royal achievement concerned itself with spreading fame in three worlds, e.g. in Samudragupta's Prayāga-praṣasti, it was claimed that his success and fame purified all the three worlds, "*Punātibhuvanatrayam*". Were only three fingers shown in the drawing of the right palm on the reverse to indicate the three worlds ?

THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE GUPTA COINS FROM THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY

A study of the gold content of some of the gold coins from the British Museum, London, has been published in this Journal earlier[1]. Now, we have examined 136 gold coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A slight difference in weight can be noticed between the two sets of coins.

From the point of view of pure gold content we can classify them into the following categories :—

1. Chandragupta-Kumāradevī Coins ... 105 grs.
2. The Aśvamedha and Lyrist type of coins of Samudragupta ... ... 101·104 "
3. The Standard ('Spearman'), Battle-axe, and Archer type of coins of Samudragupta ... 92-98 "
4. The Kācha coins ... ... 80 "
5. The combatant Lion, Lion-trampler and Umbrella type of coins of Chandragupta II ... 102·104 "
6. The Horseman and the Archer type of coins of Chandragupta II ... ... 100·99 "
7. The Couch type of coins of Chandragupta II ... ... 95 "
8. The Peacock type of coins of Kumāragupta I ... ... 105 "
9. The Archer, Lion, Elephant-rider, and the Tiger type of coins of Kumargupta I ... 96-100 "
10. The Horseman type of coins of Kumargupta 1 ... ... 88 "
11. The King-and-Queen type of coins of Skandagupta ... ... 97 "
12. The Archer type of coins of Skandgupta (The Suvarṇa standard of Manu) ... 122 "
13. The Prakāshāditya coins (Probably Purugupta[2]; the Suvarṇa standard of Manu) ... 104 "

It can be tentatively suggested that these coin-types were perhaps minted in the same order on the principle of Gresham's Law. From this study of coins we agree with Dr. Altekar that Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins were issued by Chandragupta I himself and not by his son and sucessor, Samudragupta. Moreover, from the point of view of purity of gold the Kācha coins are much inferior to that of Samudragupta's coins. It can, thus, be well conjectured that they were issued by some usurper who succeeded Samudragupta.

1. *JNSI.* XVIII Part II (1956) pp. 187-197.
2. Smith p. 98.

TABLE I.

LABORATORY REPORT OF THE GUPTA COINS FROM THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

Serial Number	Name of the king	Coin-type	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins (Sp. gr. of Pure gold = 19.32)	Percentage of pure gold
1	Chandra-gupta I	Chandra-gupta-Kumāra-devī type	1	17.43	90.3
2	,,	,,	2	16.98	87.8
3	,,	,,	3	19.06	98.55
4	,,	,,	4	18.57	96.1
5	,,	,,	5	16.89	87.4
6	,,	,,	6	16.37	84.6
7	Kācha	Kācha	1	13.92	72.1
8	,,	,,	2	16.25	84.0
9	Samudra-gupta	Aśva-medha	2	16.49	85.25
10	,,	Lyrist	3	18.27	94.5
11	,,	,,	4	17.80	92.1
12	,,	,,	5	15.29	79.0
13	,,	Spearman	6	17.91	92.8
14	,,	,,	7	16 46	85.15
15	,,	,,	8	16.28	84.2
16	,,	,,	9	16 23	84.0
17	,,	,,	10	16.19	83.8
18	,,	,,	11	16.08	83 25
19	,,	,,	12	15.87	82.0
20	,,	,,	13	16.56	85.6
21	,,	,,	14	14.33	74.1
22	,,	,,	15	17 24	89.3
23	,,	,,	16	16.17	83.6
24	,,	,,	17	15.87	82.1
25	,,	,,	18	15.45	80.0
26	,,	,,	19	15.35	79.5
27	,,	,,	20	16.46	85.2
28	,,	,,	21	15 34	79.5
29	,,	,,	22	15 83	82.0
30	,,	,,	23	15.24	79.0
31	,,	,,	24	15.92	82.5
32	,,	Archer	25	16.02	83 0
33	,,	,,	26	17.61	91.2
34	,,	,,	27	12.84	66.5
35	,,	,,	28	16.56	85.6

Serial Number	Name of the king	Coin-type	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins (Sp. gr. of Pure gold = 19.32)	Percentage of Pure gold	
36	,,	Battle-axe	29	16.52	85.5	
37	Chandra-gupta II	Couch	1	15.54	80.5	
38	,,	Archer	2	15.68	81.05	
39	,,	,,	3	16.23	84.0	
40	,,	,,	4	15.74	81.5	
41	,,	,,	5	15.46	80.0	
42	,,	,,	6	15.64	81.0	
43	,,	,,	7	15.41	79.8	
44	,,	,,	8	14.96	77.4	
45	,,	,,	9	14.33	74.1	
46	,,	,,	10	13.78	71.35	
47	,,	,,	11	14.38	74.4	
48	,,	,,	12	15.55	80.45	
49	,,	,,	13	15.03	77.7	
50	,,	,,	14	14.21	73.5	
51	,,	,,	15	16.89	87.35	
52	,,	,,	16	14.86	76.8	
53	Chandra gupta II	Archer	17	14.74	76.2	
54	,,	,,	18	15.47	80.0	
55	,,	,,	20	17.95	92.9	
56	,,	,,	21	17.46	90.15	
57	,,	,,	22	15.6	80.55	
58	,,	,,	23	15.7	81.1	
59	,,	,,	24	16.0	82.65	
60	,,	,,	25	15.8	81.65	
61	,,	,,	26	15.1	78.07	
62	,,	,,	27	14.9	77.0	
63	,,	,,	28	15.8	81.65	
64	,,	,,	29	15.9	82.2	
65	,,	,,	30	16.1	83.25	Suvarṇa Standerd of Manu in weight (65–67)
66	,,	,,	33	12.6	65.1	
67	,,	,,	34	15.1	78.07	
68	,,	,,	35	15.8	81.65	
69	,,	,,	36	16.9	87.45	
70	,,	Horseman	37	15.9	82.2	
71	,,	,,	38	15.1	78.07	
72	,,	,,	39	17.7	91.5	
73	,,	,,	40	15.9	82.2	
74	,,	Combatant Lion	42	17.5	90.5	
75	,,	,,	43	16.7	86.4	

Serial Number	Name of the king	Coin-type	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins (Sp. gr. of Pure gold = 19.32)	Percentage of pure gold
76	,,	,,	44	16.3	84.25
77	,,	,,	45	15.3	79.10
78	,,	,,	46	16.9	87.45
79	,,	,,	47	16.1	83.3
80	,,	Lion-trampler	49	16.9	87.45
81	,,	,,	50	17.0	87.9
82	,,	,,	51	16.9	87.45
83	,,	Umbrella	52	16.9	87.45
84	,,	,,	53	17.0	87.9
85	,,	,,	54	16.1	83.3
86	,,	,,	56	16.9	87.45
87	,,	,,	57	17.3	89.5
88	Kumāra-gupta I	Archer	2	15.4	79.6
89	,,	,,	3	15.3	79.1
90	,,	,,	4	16.2	83.7
91	,,	,,	5	15.4	79.6
92	,,	,,	6	15.6	80.55
93	,,	,,	7	14.8	76.5
94	,,	,,	8	16.5	85.45
95	,,	,,	9	15.6	80.55
96	,,	,,	10	14.0	72.45
97	,,	,,	11	14.6	75.5
98	,,	,,	12	13 5	69.8
99	,,	,,	13	15.7	81.15
100	,,	,,	15	14.4	74.5
101	,,	,,	16	15.2	78.55
102	,,	Horseman	17	12.3	63.55
103	,,	,,	18	14.5	75.0
104	,,	,,	19	14.9	77.0
105	,,	,,	20	14.9	77.0
106	,,	,,	21	15.6	80.55
107	Kumara-gupta I	Horseman	22	11.4	58.9
108	,,	,,	23	12.7	65.6
109	,,	,,	24	11.7	60.5
110	,,	,,	25	12.8	66.2
111	,,	,,	26	13.0	67,2
112	,,	,,	27	14.8	76.55
113	,,	,,	28	17.0	88.0
114	,,	,,	29	14.1	72.95
115	,,	Peacock	30	16.2	83.7
116	,,	,,	31	14.2	73.45
117	,,	,,	32	17·9	92.55

Serial Number	Name of the king	Coin-type	IMC. Number	Specific gravity of the coins (Sp. gr. of Pure gold = 19.32)	Percentage of pure gold
118	,,	,,	33	16.0	82.65
119	,,	,,	34	15.9	82.2
120	,,	Tiger	35	15 3	79.0
121	,,	Lion	36	15.6	80.5
122	,,	,,	37	14.8	76.5
123	,,	Elephant-rider	38	15.5	80.1
*124	,,	,,	Uncatalogued Coin	15.32	79·2
125	Skanda-gupta	Archer	1	16.1	83.25
126	,,	,,	2	16.4	84.8
127	,,	,,	3	15 4	79.6
128	,,	,,	4	18.1	93.55
129	,,	,,	5	17.4	90.0
130	,,	,,	6	18.2	94.05
131	,,	King-and-Queen	7	14.4	74.5
132	,,	,,	7a (Addenda)	14.3	74.0
133	Prakāśāditya (Probably Puragupta)		1	15.2	78.55
134	,,		2	15.0	77.55
135	,,		3	12.4	64.15
136	,,		4	13.9	71.9

TABLE II.

Abstract of Table I, showing pure gold content of Coins :—

Group Number	King	Coin Type	Average weight in air (grains)	Average Percentage of pure gold.	Average content of pure gold (grains).
1	Chandragupta I	Chandragupta-Kumāradevī	115.2	90.78	104.8
2	Kācha	Kācha	101.7	78.05	79.5
3	Samudragupta	Aśvamedha	117.8	85.25	100.25
4	,,	Lyrist	118	88.53	104.2
5	,,	Spearman	116	83.93	97.5
6	,,	Archer	112	81.6	91.5
7	,,	Battle-axe	113.8	85.5	97.2
8	Chandragupta II.	Couch	118	80.5	95
9	,,	Archer	124	80 5	99·8
10	,,	Horseman	118.7	83.49	99.1
11	,,	Combatant Lion type	120	85.16	102.16
12	,,	Lion-trampler	119	87.6	104.2
13	,,	Umbrella	119.8	87.12	104.3
14	Kumaragupta I	Archer	122	78.3	95.6
15	,,	Horseman	124	71.47	87.5
16	,,	Peacock	126.8	82.91	105.2
17	,,	Tiger	126.1	79.0	99.92
18	,,	Lion	125.2	78.52	98.6
19	,,	Elephant-rider	124.5	79.65	99
20	Skandagupta	Archer	140.0	87.54	122.2
21	,,	King-and-Queen	130.5	74.25	97
22	Prakāśāditya (Probably Puragupta)		143.0	73.04	104.4

THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF RAṆA-HASTIN

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Recently, looking through the coins of the Prince of Wales Museum, I came across a tiny unidentified silver coin, ·35" in diameter and ·7 grains in weight. On cleaning it, I found it to be a well preserved specimen,[1] of the coin of Raṇa-Hastin. The obverse has a beautiful elephant facing right, with its trunk hanging down within a partly preserved circle of beads and the legend *Śrī Raṇa Hasti* is arranged in two lines as follows on the reverse.

श्रीर[ण]

हस्ति

In the first line *śrī* is fully preserved, but *ra* is truncated; only lower portion is on the coin, *ṇa* is out of flan. In the second line *ha* is clearly legible. Medial *i* of of *sti* is also clear, but *sta* is only partly preserved. The complete legend may be restored however in the light of other published specimens, as *Raṇa-Hasti.*

Only eight other specimens of this type are so far published as follows : One coin found at Kanauj ;[2] one coin discoverrd in Rajasthan ;[3] five coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, of unknown provenance ;[4] and one coin obtained from somewhere in Saurashtra.[5]

Smith has assigned these coins to *c.* 500.[6] Rapson has attributed them to Mahārāja Hastin of Parivrājaka family of Central India,[7] who ruled, as is known from the inscriptions, from G. E. 156 to 198 (A.D. 475-517). The same view is held by P. T. Banerji on palæographical considerations.[8]

But the palæography of these coins shows that they cannot be placed in such an early period. The characters on them are much more developed than the Gupta-Brāhmī. In letter *ha* the right curve has become more prominent by coming down in

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1. Only a little is chipped off on the obverse side at the top.
2. Princep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 37 ; Pl. IV. 27.
3. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 8 ; Pl. I. 17.
4. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII. p. 193. Pl. IX. 1-5.
5. *Ibid.* XVI. p. 282. Pl V. 11.
6. *I. M. C.* p. 118.
7. *Indian Coins*, p. 28. [But Rapson himself notes there that "this attribution is however extremely doubtful."—*A.K.N.*]
8. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII. p. 194.

alignment with its left component and so very similar to its form in the Nāgarī. The form of *s* is quite distinct from the Gupta *s*; it has taken a round shape at the top. In my opinion, the characters are not earlier than the eighth century A. D.

Apart from this paleographic consideration, the attribution of these coins to Parivrājaka ruler Hastin, is doubted by H. V. Trivedi on two other grounds[1] : (i) the obvious difference in the name Hastin and Raṇa-Hasti; (ii) the wide area of the provenance of these coins. Hastin was a ruler of a very small territory out side the areas of these coins, viz. Kanauj. Rajasthan and Saurashtra.

Dasharatha Sharma has put forward the suggestion that these coins belong to the Imperial Pratīhāra ruler Vatsarāja (*c.* 778-799 A. D.), who had the title of *Raṇa-hastin* according to the contemporary work *Kuvalayāmālā* by Dakshiṇāṅka Sūri; and from the inscriptions he is known to have had a wide empire, which included all the find-places of these coins.[2]

The present coin was purchased in 1926 from the late Shri Kesarichand, a coin dealer of Lucknow. No information is available about the find-place of this coin; but it would have undoubtedly come to him from Uttara Pradesh or Rajasthan, which were the areas, from which he usually procured his coins. Though not much can be made out of this information yet, along with the find-spots of other coins—Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Kanauj,[3] it tends to suggest that, whosoever was the issuer of these coins, he could not be Parivrājaka Hastin. The coin in all probability originated in the western part of the country.

This is borne out from an unexpected quarter. The tiny silver coins of Jayasiṁha, found in Gujarat and Saurasthra, published by me[4] and Amrita Pandya,[5] are all similar in fabric, size and weight to the present coins. They also bear the figure of elephant within a beaded circle on the obverse and the name of their issuer on the reverse. These common characteristics in the coins of Raṇa-Hasti and Jayasiṁha point out to a common place of origin for both of them. Since Jayasiṁha is known to be the ruler of Gujarat, we may safely assume that this might also be an issue of some ruler of that area.

The coins of Jayasiṁha are no doubt far distant from the coins of Raṇa-Hastin in time, as borne out by the palæography

1. *Ibid.* XVI. p. 283.
2. *Ibid.* XVIII. p. 222-223.
[3. Smith has noted that 'these coins are found in Rajaputana, at Kanauj, and I think at a few other places, in the United Provinces'. *I. M. C.* I, p. 118, note 1. *A. S. A.*]
4. *J.N.S.I*, XVII, pt. I, p. 113; XVIII, 207.
5. *Ibid,* XVI, 283.

of the coins of the two series. While the former ruled in the twelvth century, the issuer of the Raṇa-Hasti coins cannot be placed later than eight century. But this distance of time should not be a bar in assigning these coins to the Western area, as the continuance of the same type of coins in a particular area for a long period is not unusual. It is not unlikely that the coins that were originated in the eighth century or earlier with the elephant within beaded circle on the obverse and the name of the ruler on the reverse, continued till the twelvth century or even later, irrespective of the changes in the dynastic rules.

In the light of the above factors Dasharatha Sharma's attribution of these coins to Vatsarāja, the Pratīhāra ruler of Gujarat, who was also known as Raṇa-Hastin, is quite plausible.

ALLEGED SILVER COIN OF RĀMABHADRA OF MITHILĀ

D. C. SIRCAR

An interesting paper on a late medieval silver coin has been recently published by Mr. R. K. Choudhary in this *Journal*, Vol. XX, Part I, pp. 55ff., Plate IX, No. 5. There are two supplementary notes added to the article, which are equally interesting. One of these comes from the pen of Dr. A.S. Altekar, while the other is contributed by Shri P. L. Gupta. Choudhary and Altekar have both read the name of the Oinvār ruler Rāmabhadra in the legend on the coin. But, whereas the former reads it in the central section on the reverse, the latter finds it on the borders around the corresponding section on the obverse. P. L. Gupta seems to be doubtful about the reading of the name in the central section, while he considers the writing in the margin as mere decorative symbols. It may, however, be pointed out that the name of Rāmabhadra does not occur anywhere in the legend, either in the central section or in the margin, and, consequently, the attribution of the coin to a ruler of that name is entirely untenable.

About the end of November 1957, while I was passing through Patna in the course of a tour, Mr. Choudhary kindly met me and showed me the coin in question. I could then read only a few letters of the legend. Mr. Choudhary was, however, good enough to allow me to prepare plasticine moulds of the coin, from which plaster casts of it were made at my office on my return to headquarters about the beginning of January 1958. The casts were at first studied by one of my Assistants, who is a good student of numismatics. But unfortunately he submitted them to me after some weeks without being able to read the legend either on the obverse or on the reverse. I then myself took up the casts for examination and realised that the legend was not decipherable without very considerable labour.

As a result of repeated attempts on the first day, I could satisfactorily read only *mahārāja-śrī-...nārāyaṇ ātmaja*[1]...*siṁhasya* in the central sections on both sides of the coin. Since the legend is written in the medieval characters of Eastern India, I was searching for a ruler of the said area and age, whose

1. Prof. Altekar has also read these eleven letters correctly.

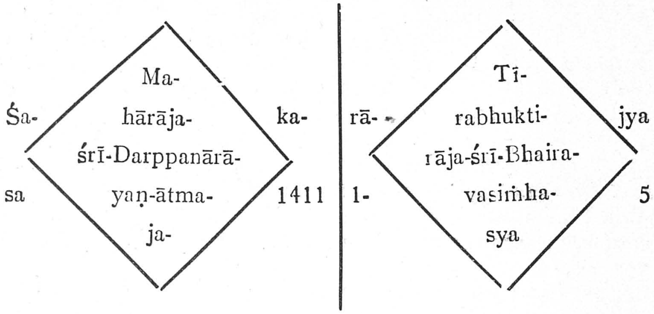
name ended in *siṁha* and whose father had a name ending in *nārāyaṇa*. However, I was then rather doubtful whether I should ever be successful in deciphering the whole legend satisfactorily. But repeated attempts of several days enabled me to decipher the passage *Tīrbhukti-rāja* in the upper half of the legend in the central section on the reverse. This encouraged me considerably and I continued my efforts. After some days, I succeeded in completing the decipherment of the writing in the central sections on both the obverse and reverse of the coin. These parts read : *mahārā-ja-śrī-Darppanārāyaṇ-ātmaja-Tīrabhukti-rāja-śrī-Bhairavasiṁhasya*, '[Coin] of the illustrious Bhairavasiṁha, the lord of Tīrabhukti [and] the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Darpanārāyaṇa.'

But I had yet to solve the problem of decipherment of the marginal writing beyond the four sides of the central section on both the faces of the coin. From the very beginning, they appeared to me to be dates; but I could not reconcile two different dates, one on the obverse and another on the reverse of the same coin. When I was struggling with the decipherment of these parts of the legend, I learnt from Mr. Choudhary that his article on the coin was being published in the *JNSI*, although I felt certain that there was none who could offer a satisfactory reading of the entire legend on the coin in a short time and there were only a few who would be able to read it at all. My attention was later drawn to a similar coin noticed by V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p 333, No. 3, though the veteran numismatist failed to decipher any letter of the legend.

I continued my struggle with the marginal writing and after many more efforts ultimately succeeded in deciphering the border legend on the obverse as *Śaka-sa 1411* and that on the reverse as *rājya 15*. When thus I realised that the coin under study was issued by the Oinvār ruler Bhairavasiṁha, who was the son of *Mahārāja* Darpanārāyaṇa and the ruler of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut or Mithilā in North Bihar), in Śaka 1411 (1489 A. D.) corresponding to his fifteenth regnal year, I completed an article which is now appearing in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 326-33.

The writing on the coin is arranged in the following way:

Obverse *Reverse*



The writing in the central section on the obverse is continued in the corresponding section on the reverse, while the two dates on the different sides of the coin have to be read from the upper left corner, the writing being continued in the upper right, lower left and lower right corners.

I consider it unnecessary to deal with the various errors in the discussions on the coin that have appeared in this *Journal* since they are due to imperfect and wrong reading of the legend. I also refrain from discussing the contribution the coin has made to the history of the Oinvārs of Mithilā, as it has been thoroughly dealt with in my article appearing in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

RELIGIOUS SEALINGS FROM RAJGHAT—II*

V. S. PATHAK

[Pl. XIII]

CHARANA SEALINGS

Charaṇas were the corporate bodies of persons studying either one of the Vedas or one of the several recensions of the Vedas.[1] Because the Vedas and their recensions (*Śākhā*) did not exist as written text but were orally transmitted from the teacher to the taught and because graduates of these Vedic *Charaṇas* could bear the names of their *Charaṇas* as their descriptive epithets,[2] the word *Charaṇa* was used sometimes in the sense of a Veda[3] or even in that of a *Śākhā*. Originally there were only few *Charaṇas*—probably three, Bāhvṛichya (Ṛigveda), Adhvaryu (Yajurveda) and Chhandoga (Sāmaveda), in which floating *dicta theologica* concerning all the three classes of priests was compiled as *Brāhmaṇas* but later on with the growth of different *Śākhās* and various *sūtras*, new *Charaṇas* came into existence.[4]

As Brahmanas were enjoined to conduct their Vedic studies and perform Vedic rituals in accordance with their respective *Śākhās* studied in their *Charaṇas*,[5] they became so important a feature that Brahmanas were always described with reference to them. So much so, that a Brahmana who could not give details regarding them was looked down upon.[6]

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*[The first article on 'The Religious Sealings from Rajghat' was published in *J.N.S.I.*, XIX, pp. 168 ff.—Ed.]

1. *The Śāstra-dīpikā* (p. 471) a work on Mimānsā, concludes after a detailed discussion that *Charaṇas* indicated a "group of persons studying a recension of the Vedas".

नित्यस्य चरण विशेषस्येवेयं संज्ञा तच्चरणैः पुरुषैः परपरयाधीयमाना
शाखा काठकशब्देनाभिधीयते ।

2. चरणशब्दः शाखानिमित्तकः पुरुषे प्रवर्तते । *Kāśikā*. II, 4, 3

3. Mahidāsa (p. 2) commenting upon the *Charana-vyūha* says: वेदराशेः पारायणचतुर्विभागाच्चरण उच्यते some inscriptions also use the word in this sense e.g. Semra Copper Plate of Paramarddideva *(EI, IV, p. 187)* and Chandrāvati V. S. 1150 (E. I, XIV p. 20) mention *Ṛigveda-Charaṇa, Yajurveda-Charaṇa etc.*

4. Maxmuller : *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 99.

5. स्वशाखाश्रयमुत्सृज्य परशाखाश्रयन्तु यः ।
कर्त्तुमिच्छन्ति दुर्मेधाः मोघन्तत्तस्य जीवितम् ॥ ३ ॥ *Karma-pradīpa* I.

6. Cf. the story of a fallen Brahmana in the *Mahabharata, Śānti Parva*, Chap. CLXXI.

Literary sources for the study of these important religio-educational institutions are sometimes confusing and therefore, light received from archaeological material although insufficient is welcome. Besides the innumerable copper-plates, there are some tiny terracotta seals which also mention the *Charaṇas*. At Rajghat, sealings of Bāhvrichya, Chhandoga and Charaka *Charaṇas* have come to light.

I. BĀHVṚICHYA CHARAṆA

Two sealings of this *Charaṇa* are preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University.

1. An oval black sealing.

Lines divide the flan in two unequal fields.

Upper field : A man (*āchārya*) in *dvibhaṅga* posture flanked by two small boys (*māṇavakas*) under a semi-circular canopy of trees. Man in the middle is holding an indistinct object in hands.

Lower field : Legend in Gupta characters :

Baha[vrichacharaṇa.]

Pl. XIII. 2

2. A beautiful oval, black sealing of 1.3″ x 1.1″.

Upper field : two trees representing *āśrama*.

Lower field : *Bahavrichacharaṇa* in Gupta characters.

Pl. XIII. 1

Bahavṛich is sometimes mentioned in the sense of the Ṛigveda and sometimes as a *Śākhā* of that Veda. The Gahaḍavāla and Pratihāra epigraphs on the other hand record that Āśvalāyana and Śānkhāyana *Śākhās* of the Ṛigveda were having the common *Charaṇa* of Bahvṛich.[1]

In this region, Bahvṛich is mentioned in Banskhera Inscription of Harsha-Vardhana[2], Gorakhpur-Kahla Copper Plate of Soḍhdeva,[9] and Kamauli Copper plate of Govindachandra of V. S. 1191.[3]

II. CHARAKA CHARAṆA

1. An oval clay sealing of 1.9″ x 1.6″.

Upper field : Couchant Nandi with crescent and *solar stars* above.

Lower field : *[Cha]raka-charaṇa*

Pl. XIII. 5

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1. *EI*, VIII, pp. 153 H.,V., pp. 211 H. mention Brahmana donees of Āsvalāyana and Sānkhāyana śākhās but belonging to Bahvṛichcharaṇa.
2. *E.I.*, IV, 210H.
3. *E.I.* IV, p. 103.

It is a *Charaṇa* of Kṛishna Yajurveda.

A doubtful reference to this school occurs in the Nasik Inscription of Nahapāna.[1] The word also figures in the Allahabad-Kosam Yupa Inscription.[2] The present sealing gives the evidence of its existence at Vārāṇasi but later inscriptions from this region do not make any allusion to it.

III. CHHANDOGA-CHARAṆA

There are three sealings of this *Charaṇa* in Bharat Kala Bhavan.

1. Oval, baked and polished red clay sealings of 9″X7″ with three impressions.

First Impression

Upper half : Seated bull on a pedestal.

Lower half : *Chhandoga* in Gupta characters

Pl. XIII. 4

Second Impression

An ornamental discus flanked by two conches.

Pl. XIII 6

Third Impression

A lady standing and offering flowers before *Sūchī* (a needle to prick the killed horse in *aśvamedha* sacrifice) ? or a *Yūpa*.

Pl. XIII. 6

2. An oval clay sealing of 8″X7″

Upper field : Seated Nandi

Lower field : *Chhandoga-Charaṇa* in Gupta Characters.

Pl. XIII. 7

Chhandoga was the original *Charaṇa* of Sāmaveda. In Uttar Pradesh it was fairly popular in Gupta period and Early Mediaeval age. It is mentioned in Madhuban Inscription of Harsha-Vardhana.[3]

Epigraphs of Madanapāla[4] Govindachandra[5] and Gosala devi[6] of Gāhadavāla dynasty and of Paramarddi of Chandella dynasty[7] mention the Brahmanas of this *Charaṇa*.

1. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 161 and 163n.

2. *EI*. XXIV, pp. 247ff. In both these cases the word Charaka can also be taken in the sense of 'wandering ascetic' cf. A.S. Altekar., loc-cit., but Sircar p. 163, fn. "More especially it denotes the members of a school of the black Yajurveda".

3. *EI*. I, 67-69.

4. Copper Plate of Chandradeva-Madanpāla. *IA*., XVIII, p. 12.

5. Don Buzurg Copper Plate of Govindchandra, *EI*. XVIII, p. 218.

6. Bangavan Copper Plate of Govindachandra-Gosala Devi.

7. IA. XXV. 206.

CHARANA AND TEMPLE SEALINGS

Several seals of various temples—Āmratakeśvara, Ārmikeśvara, Avimukteśvara, Bhadreśvara, Kālañjarabhaṭṭāraka, Deveśvarī, Vishṇupada-Nārāyana etc. have been discovered at Basarh, Bhita, Nalanda and Rajghat-whereas the finds of *Charaṇa* seals are almost negligible. Secondly, temple-seals continue from 3rd-4th century A. D. down to the end of early mediaeval period. The eight Avimukteśvara sealings range from 5th century A.D. to 11th Century A. D. But *Charaṇa* seals suddenly stop after the Gupta age. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the *Charaṇa*-institution was gradually disappearing while its *āgamic* counterpart, the temple institution, was increasingly gaining popularity.

The disappearance of *Charaṇas* and consequent decline of Vedic scholarship is attested by literature also. Udayana,[1] Alberuni[2] and Halāyudha[3] lament the loss of *Śākhās* and lack of Vedic learning even amongst the Brahmanas.

These sealings further indicate the affiliation of the Vedic recital tradition with Śiva and Vishnu. Nandī with crescent, the theriomorphic representation of Śaśāṅkaśekhara, occurs on the Charaka sealing. This Śaiva affiliation of Charaka school is suggested by the Allahabad-Kosam Yupa Inscription recording the celebration of sacrifice for the pleasure of Śiva and the construction of an alm-house for Charakas. Nandī figures on the Chhandoga sealing also but it may be noted that it is singularly absent on the Bahvṛich seals which represent only a Vedic *āśrama* by means of trees, students and teachers,

The Chhandoga sealing with three impressions is especially noteworthy. It contains an ornamental discus flanked by two conches. These are necessarily to be regarded as cult-objects of Vaishṇava sect. Another impression on the same sealing contains an effigy of Nandī. Lastly, it depicts a lady standing by the side of a *sūchī* (very much similar to one which occurs on the Aśvamedha type of coins issued by Samudragupta) and offering flowers. The association of Vaishṇava and Śaiva symbols on the sealings of these Vedic academies—the custodians of Vedic recital tradition and the Vedic ritual of sacrifices—is

1. तस्मादायुरारोग्यबलवीर्यश्रद्धाशमदमग्रहणधारणादि शक्ते, रह रह रपचीयमानत्वात स्वाध्यायनुष्ठाने शीर्यमाणे कथंचिदनुवर्तते विश्वपरिग्रहाच्च न सहसा सर्वोच्छेदः । *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, I, 3.
2. Sachau, I. p. 125.
3. *Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*, pp. 1-2.

really interesting. It may be recalled here that Barnala-Jaipur Yūpa Inscription mentions the celebration of Gargātirātra sacrifice for the pleasure of Vishṇu.[1] The Nāndsā Yūpa Inscription records the performance of sacrifice after building the shrines of Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati and Vishṇu.[2] The Allahabad-Kosam Yūpa Inscription states that the sacrifices were done for the blessings of Maheśvara.[3] Thus, the evidence of *Charaṇa* sealings points out a *rapprochement* between the devotional tradition of the *āgamas* and the Vedic ritual-recital tradition.

CHĀTURVEDYA SEALING

A black clay sealing.

Upper field : Couchant Nandī on pedestal.

Lower field : Legend in the characters of 5th century A. D. *śrīchāturvedya*.

Pl. XIII. 3

Like *Śākhāpāra*, *Charchchaka* etc. *Chāturvedya* was also a descriptive academic epithet and it indicated a person who had mastered all the four Vedas. The *Charaṇavyūha* which belongs to this period defines the word in this sense.[4] It occurs in an adjective of *agrahāra* village in Poona Inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā[5] and as a personal epithet in Indore Inscription of Skandagupta.[6] It is also mentioned in a Pratihāra record.[7] A similar epithet '*Traividya*' figures in the Hansot (Broach Dist.) Copper Plate of Bhartrivaddha Chāhamāna V. S. 813.[8] Later on *Chāturvedya* was transformed into '*Chaturvedin.*' The earliest mention of this word is in the Bāgumara (Navasari) Copper Plate of Dadda II date in 415 Saka.[9] The inscription however is regarded as spurious by Fleet, Indraji ahd Sankalia.[10] Further, it figures in epigraphs of the Chandellas,[11] Paramāras[12] and Gāhadavālas.[13] Upto eleventh century A. D. it was merely a constant epithet of individual Brahmanas probably obtained by *Svādhyāya*, because in several cases, epithets of sons, fathers and

1. *EI*. XXVI, 121-123.
2. *IA*., LVIII, p. 53.
3. *EI*., XXIV, p 351.
4. I, p. 5.
5. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 422.
6. Ibid, p. 310.
7. *EI*., XIV, p. 351.
8. Ibid, XII, p. 202.
9. *IA*, XVII, pp. 199.
10. *Archæology of Gujrat*, App. C. pp. 77-80.
11. Semra C.P. of Paramarddi, *EI*., IV. 157, Mahoba Inscription of Paramarddi, ibid, XVI, pp. 12.
12. Māndhāta C.P. of Devapala, ibid, IX, p. 108.
13. *EI*, IV, p. 124.

grandfathers varied. But from twelvth century A.D. '*Chaturvedin*' began to assume the nature of a hereditary surname.

As the existence of a *Chāturvedya* village and a *Chāturvedya* monastery is respectively revealed by Vākāṭaka and Pratihāra epigraphs, it may be suggested that the present sealing was utilized by some such corporate body of *Chāturvedyas*, which to judge by its name, would have been devoted to the study of all the four Vedas.

SĀRASVATA SEALING

A clay sealing with a circular impression of 9″ diameter.

Upper field : A beautiful figure of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* with foliage (*ambu-pallava*) coming out of it, placed on a pedestal.

Lower field : Legend in Gupta characters *Śri-Sārasvatasya.*

Pl. XIII. 9

A similar clay sealing with a *ghaṭa* on a pedestal and the legend '*sarasvatī*' in the characters of fifth century A.D. has been discovered at Bhita.[1] J. N. Banerjea notes, "the goddess of learning is thus represented here by means of *ghaṭa*"[2] However, it seems more probable that here it is not Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, but Sarasvati, the river-goddess, who has been represented. In Varuṇa-pūjā, jars symbolise river-goddess. In sculptures, all river-goddesses are represented with *ghaṭa* in their hands. Inscriptions and Literature describe the river-goddess Gangā in the form of a *maṅgala-ghaṭa.*[3] At Chitor tower, Sarasvati, the river goddess is represented as a lady holding *ghata.*[4]

Sarasvati, one of the seven rivers is invoked to sanctify water for worshippers' baths. It ranks with Gangā, Yamunā and Narmadā in holiness. The Pehoa Inscription of Mahendrapāla invokes its blessings in its initial stanza.[5]

Śrī-Sārasvatasya may, therefore, mean the sealing of a person or persons living on or hailing from the banks of the river Sarasvati. It may be noted here, that Sārasvata is one of the sections of the Pañcha-Gauḍas.

The regional groupings of caste was known to Pāṇinī also who lays down rules for framing names of Varṇas or Jātis after localities (*janapadākhya*[6]). Commenting upon the sūtra, *Kāsikā*

1. *ASIAR.*, 1911-12, p. 52, pl. XVIII.
2. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 213.
3. Malhar Ins. of Jajalladeva, *EI.*, I, p 40.
4. *Antiquities of Chamba state*, I. p. 219.
5 *EI.*, I, p. 244.
6. V. 4. 104.

cites the examples of Avanti-Brāhamaṇa and Saurāshṭra-Brāhmaṇa[1]. A Pratihāra epigraph mentions a *rāyakavāla*-Brāhmaṇa[2] indicating thereby that the broader regional divisions were further splitting up into smaller ramifications. *Sārasvata* of our sealing of fifth century A.D. may well indicate the group of persons from the Sarasvati region.

In fine, from a study of these Rājghat sealings of eight temples,[3] three Charaṇas and a *Chāturvedya* and a Sārasvata (Corporate institutions ?) it may be suggested that,

(i) *Charaṇas*, the Vedic schools, were gradually disappearing whereas Temples were becoming increasingly popular;

(ii) a *rapprochment* between devotional tradition and Vedic ritual-recital tradition was taking place; and

(iii) the process of groupings of castes on regional basis had begun in the Gupta period.

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1. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 76.
2. *EI.*, I, p. 179.
3. For eight temple seals see my first article in this series, "Religious Sealings from Rajghat—I", in *JNSI*, XIX. pp. 168 ff.

ON SOME MOHAMMADAN COINS IN THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

(Pl. XIV. 1, 2, 4)

M. M. Nagar

I. TWO RARE COPPER COINS

In September 1953 a hoard of 249 copper coins, was found as treasure trove in village Bhadba, Tahsil and District Fatehpur and was forwarded to me for scientific examination and disposal as per Treasure Trove Rules framed by Government under Treasure Trove Act. It contained the issues of Sher Shah (53), Islam Shah (89), Muhammad Adil Shah (21) and Emperor Akbar (80) and worn out specimens (6). Of these two copper coins—one of Islam Shah and the other of Emperor Akbar—were found of very rare variety and were, therefore, acquired for the Coin Cabinet of the State Museum, Lucknow. They are described as under :—

1. *Coin of Islam Shah* :

Register No.	11473	Weight	– 313 grs.
Metal	– Copper	Mint	– Shergadh *urf* Qanauj
Shape	– Round	Date	– 955 A.H.
Size	– .9″		

Legend– *Obverse*	*Reverse*
فے عهد امرالحامے	ابوالمظفر
لدين ٩٥٥ الدنياں	بن اسلام شاه سل
سنه	ضوب شيرگڑه عرف
	قنوج

Transliteration :	Fī Ahd Amēēru-l-Hāmī	Abu-l-Muzaffar
	—955	Bin Islam Shah Sul[tan]
	[U]ddīn Udduniyā	Zarab Sergadh urf
	San	Qanauj
	(mint mark)	

Remarks **Pl. XIV. I.**

The coin is extremely rare as it offers a new type in the coinage of Islam Shah struck from the mint town of Shergadh *urf* Qanauj on account of its having both the obverse and reverse legends altogether different from those so far found on the coins issued from this mint and reproduced in different coin catalogues such as of Indian Museum, Calcutta; Dehli Museum, Dehli ; etc.

2. Coin of Akbar

Register No. 11507

Metal	– Copper	Weight	– 316 grs.
Shape	– Round but irregular	Mint	– Jaunpur Daru-l-khilafat
		Date	– 97 x A.H.
Size	– .8″		

Legend– *Obverse* | *Reverse*

Obverse	Reverse
دارالخلا[فتة]	فتاد
———	تهصد
فلوس ج[و]نپو	الدنيا و الا[دين]
ضرب	

Transliteration—	Daru-l-khila [fat]	M M
	Sikkah	[Ha]ftad
	Fulus Ja[u]npu[r]	Nuhsad
	Zarab	Udduniya wa Ud[din]
		(Mint Mark)

Remarks— **Pl. XIV. 2.**

The coin like the one as above is extremely rare as it offers a new type amongst the issues of Akbar struck from mint Jaunpur Darulkhilafat on account of its legends both on the obverse and reverse differing entirely from those on his coins issued from this mint town.

Of the remaining coins of the hoard, which represented common types of the kings mentioned above, 50 coins were acquired for the State Museum, Lucknow; 3 presented to the National Museum of India, New Delhi; 22 to Indian Museum, Calcutta; 22 to Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay; 3 to Ajmer Museum, Rajasthan; 10 to Central Museum, Nagpur; 4 to State Museum, Mysore; 9 to Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; 5 to Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, Poona and 1 to Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta. Besides, 106 coins were taken for sale at the Lucknow museum and 12 worn out pieces returned to the finder.

II. A SILVER RUPEE OF FARRUKHSIYAR

A small hoard of 9 silver coins, was found as treasure trove somewhere in Lucknow district and deposited in the Police Malkhana wherefrom it was forwarded to me in April 1954, for scientific examination and disposal under Treasure Trove Rules framed by the State Government. The coins represented the issues of Mughal Emperor, Farrukhsiyar issued from Lakhnau mint. Amongst these one coin which was found interesting on

account of its bearing new date on it was acquired for the Coin Cabinet of the State Museum, Lucknow and is now preserved therein. It can be described thus :—

Register No. 11236

Metal—Silver	Weight—174 grs.
Shape—Round	Mint—Lakhnau
Size—·9″	Date—1134-Ahd.
Legend—*Obverse*	*Reverse*
وار ۳۴ صل ۱۱	میمنت
بحر و بر فرخ‌سیر	سله احد حلو
	صر لکهنؤ

Couplet :—

سکه زد از فضل حق بر سیم و زر
بادشاه بحر و بر فرخ‌سیر

Pl. XIV. 4

Translation :—"Struck coin on silver and gold by Grace of the Truth.
"Monarch of sea and land, Farrukhsiyar."

The unique feature of the coin is that it bears on its obverse date as 1134 and on reverse-Ahd as against 1124-Ahd so far found on other coins of this king. According to evidence available Farrukhsiyar ruled over India from 1124 to 1131 A.H. In case the date as given on our coin is taken as correct the first regnal year of this Emperor will be 1134 A. H. which will be unwarranted by facts. We, therefore, suggest that the year 1134 is a mistake of the die-cutter and stands for 1124 A. H. which is the established date of commencement of the reign of Farrukhsiyar. Of the remaining 8 coins of the hoard, which were mostly of ordinary types, 1 more was acquired for the State Museum, Lucknow, on account of its filling in date gap; 4 presented to the National Museum of India, New Delhi; 1 to Patna Museum, Patna; 1 to Ajmer Museum, Rajasthan and 1 to Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

CURRENCY OF TIRHUT DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE COMPANY'S RULE

UPENDRA THAKUR

During the time of the great Moghuls and afterwards, the *dām*, *paisā* or *fulūs* was a massive copper coin, copied from Sher Shah's issues, and weighing 323·5 grains, or very nearly 21 grammes (20.962). The normal relative value of copper to silver was 72·4 to 1, and for purposes of account 40 of the copper *dāms* were reckoned uniformly as equivalent to the silver rupee of 172·5 grains, the silver being practically pure. "In practice the bazar rate equating the 'pice' or *dāms* with the silver rupee varied somewhat, but the actual rate did not depart widely from the standard of 40 *dāms* to one rupee".[1] The *dām* was divided into 25 *jitals* for account purposes, but no coin called *jital* then existed. Certain subsidiary coin and *cowries* provided a very small change.[2] The coinage in silver and gold was abundant and of excellent quality.

According to Abul Fazl, the old copper coins were known as *Bahloli*. The *Bahlolis* of Bahlol and his son, Sikandar bin Bahlol Lodi weighed only about 140 grains.[3] According to Thomas, "practically the *dām* was the ready money of prince and peasant".[4] Abul Fazl relates that a *kror* of *dāms* was kept ready for gifts and other works, within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags". Smaller pieces were the ½, ¼ and ⅛ of a *dām*. Double *dāms* were also struck.[5]

During the early years of the Company's rule a great variety of coins was in use apart from *cowries* (shells):—copper coins of every denomination; lumps of copper without any denomination whatever; pieces of iron beaten up with brass; thirty-two different kinds of rupees, from the full *Sicca* to the *Viziery*, hardly more than half its value; pagodas of various weights; dollars of different standards of purity; gold mohurs worth from twenty-five to thirty-two shillings each, and a diversity of Asiatic and European coins whose names are now forgotten.[6] "At some treasuries *cowries* were taken up, at others they were not. Some collectors accepted payment in gold, others refused it; others again could not make up their minds either way; and the miserable peasant never knew whether the

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1. Smith, *Akbar*, 388.
2. *Ain*. i. 31.
3. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings*, 362.
4. Ibid.
5. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*; *Akbar*, 388 f.n.1.
6. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, 294-95.

coin for which he sold his crop would be of any use to him when he came to pay his rent".[1] Such was the aweful state of currency in Bengal Presidency (in which Tirhut was then included), that one could never know what one was getting and giving in return !

Thus, multiplicity of coins and acute shortage of silver[2] were the two grave anomalies in the currency of Bengal and Bihar during the 18th century and the first 35 years of the 19th century. Silver-scarcity was caused by the stoppage of the import of silver from outside between 1756 and 1797 A. D., and its heavy export chiefly to finance the East India Company's China investments.[3] The lack of uniformity in currency caused varieties of coins being current in different parts and also in one place. There were four mints in Bengal and Bihar in 1757—at Murshidabad, Calcutta, Dacca and Patna. Value of the rupees of these mints and even of those struck in the same mint, varied according to the period of circulation. Thus, 100 new Murshidabad *Siccas* were equivalent to 116 current rupees; but after two years the value of *Siccas* became equal to 111 current rupees and then came to be known as *Sonauts*. "This left the merchants and the common people at the mercy of the cunning *Shroffs* who realised *batta* or discount from the former at whatever rates they liked in exchanging their coins".[4]

The Company's government soon realised the evils of a chaotic currency and thought of removing them. But Clive's attempt (June, 1766) for bimetallism in 1769 failed mainly due to over-valuation of gold. In this direction Warren Hastings' plans, *e.g.* silver monometallism, subsdiary copper currency and paper currency[5] were also singularly unsuccessful[6].

The regime of Cornwallis was, however, marked by some serious efforts regarding currency reforms. But, the preliminary attempts once again proved unsatisfactory. The Governor-General, then, acting according to the suggestion of a Mint-Committee (appointed in May, 1795) ordered that after the 10th of April, 1794 (later on extended to the 10th of April, 1795) only the 19th *Sun sicca* was to be a legal tender in all transactions, public or private.[7] Theoretically 19th *Sun sicca* would mean *Sicca* rupees coined in the 19th year of the reign of Emperor Shah Alam II i.e., in the year 1788. But, in fact all the 19th *Sun sicca* were not coined in that year. To

1. Ibid. For other details, see, Ibid. 295-322 ; Also cf. H. R. Ghosal, *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency*, pp. 271 ff.
2. For the causes of silver-scarcity, Ghosal, . op. cit. 273-75, 277-79.
3. Ibid ; *Bengal, Past and Present (BPP)*. LXVIII. 1949, p. 53.
4. *BPP*. LXVIII. 55.
5. H. R. Ghosal, Op. cit. 276-77.
6. *BPP*. LXVIII. 53 ; J.C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*. 125-45.
7. *BPP*. LXVIII. 53.

prevent the evils regarding variation in the value of *Siccas* according to date, Warren Hastings adopted the ingenious practice of putting the invariable date of the 19th *Sun* on all *Sicca* rupees coined in future.

The unpublished records of Bihar archives speak of the actual state of currency-affairs in Zillah Tirhut. From an extract (para 22) of a general letter[2] from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council, dated the 22nd December, 1786, we learn that on 12th June, 1787 (reminder sent on 12th October, 1787) the Board of Revenue, Calcutta sent out a circular to collectors of districts to "prepare and transmit to us with as much expedition as the subject will admit of an account of the different species of rupees circulating throughout your district with the usual bazar rates of *batta* upon each, specifying the variations ..... during the course of a year and the cause of such variations, adding also the relative proportions of the different species in circulation as to quantity, distinguishing what specie has the most established currency in Commercial and Revenue transactions, what inconveniences, if any, arise from the variety of species now existing and whether there is any want of specie in circulation."[3]

In a letter[4] dated 12th May, 1788 Mr. R. Bathurst, Collector of Tirhut, replied to John Shore, President and Members of the Board of Revenue as follows:

"......The rupees circulating in this collectorship are *sicca* of the Moorshidabad and Calcutta mints and *Sonat* of the Patna mint. Other species may occasionally be introduced into the country by traders in exchange for the productions of it, but not being admitted in Revenue transactions they are passed at a loss (proportionate to the necessities or to the ignorance of the possessor) which induces the *Mahājans* and *Saraffs* to take them up for the purpose of sending to places where their currency is established"......

From the above letter of the Collector of Tirhut we know that the quantity of *Sonat* rupees for circulation in Tirhut was estimated at 4,50,000 to 5,000,000 whilst the *Sicca* would exceed 1,00,000. The *Sonat* rupees had by far the most established currency in commerical and revenue transactions. Indeed, in most of the districts (of Zillah Tirhut) collections were

1. J. C. Sinha, Op. cit., p. 123.
2. *BPP*. LXV.46. 3. Ibid. 46.
4. Ibid. 46-47. For report on the Coinage and State of currency in the districts of Bhagalpur, Rajmahal, and Monghyr, see *Bhagalpur Collector's Letter to Mr. Warren Hastings*, Governor-General, dated the 7th Nov. 1776, preserved in State Central Records Office, Patna.

made in *Sonat* rupees and in these districts it did not appear that any other specie circulated. In others, where the collections were made in *Sicca* rupees, this specie had some circulation, for although *Sonats* were there in use for most purposes, yet the *Cabuleats* being for *Sicca* rupees, the *Beoparies* or carriers found their amount in bringing rupees of that denomination to purchase grain and other articles. But the coin so introduced did not remain in the country; it was appropriated to the payment of revenue and was thus brought in and carried away every harvest. Neither was the quantity, so brought, sufficient for the purpose; for the *malguzars* generally paid a part in *Sonat* rupees upon which *amils* were accustomed to take *battā* of one anna or more per rupee.[1]

According to the Collector, no inconviniences were felt here from the variety of species then existing except the profits which the *Shroff* might have the opportunity of making and which were neither frequent nor considerable. I am giving below an extract from the letter, dated, Tirhut, 12-5-1788;

"The following is the statement of the several rates of *battā* established by the merchants of Tirhut on receipt of Azimabad *Hersunna* Rupees[2]:

	ans.	*g.*	*cowrie*
Mullet—a little defaced rupee ...	—	5	—
Chuppott—more defaced rupee ...	—	10	—
Silput—quite defaced rupee ...	1	—	—
Sooruka—a hole in the side ...	—	10	—
Googwar—a hole on the edge ...	—	10	—
Phoota—cracked	—	10	—
Ghyrsaul—private coinage ...	2	—	—
Furokhsuree (Ferukh-Soer's Pergunah) Sonat rupees ...	—	15	—
Snuchur Toorakhi (?)—not quite round	2	2	—

"Statement of the rates of *battā* established by the merchants of Tirhut on the receipt of the Murshidabad *Sicca* rupees[3]:

	a.	*g.*	*c.*
11, 12 & 15 Sun—of rupees ...	—	10	—
Phoot Shikust (defaced) ...	—	1	1/2

From another letter dated Tirhut, the 12th May, 1788. (written in reply to the letter of 12th June, 1787[4]) from the Collector, Tirhut to John Shore, Esq. President and Members of the Board of Revenue we learn that the specimens of the different species of silver and copper coinage

1. *BPP.* LXV. 47. 2. Ibid. 47. 3. Ibid. 48.
4. cf. Letter of the 12th June, 1787 covering extract of the general letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors dated 22nd December, 1786.

current in districts under the charge of the Collector, Tirhut were as follows :

No. I. Twelve Sicca rupees
II. Twelve Hersunia rupees
III. Twelve Gorakhpore Pice
IV. Twelve Nepal Pice

The *Sicca* rupees were of the mints of Murshidabad and Calcutta of 19, 15, 12 & 11 *Suns*, the circulation of which in this collectorship was estimated by intelligent persons at one hundred thousand. The conjecture was no doubt vague, but there was no other method of ascertaining the quantity with any degree of precision.[1]

The *Hersunia* or *Sonat* rupees were coined at the mint of Patna under the authority of the then *Nazims*. None had been coined for many years and much of what was in circulation was of very distant date. It was understood that the Patna rupees ought to have been coined to the weight standard of 10½ *māshās* and should have at least 80% of pure silver, but it may be doubted whether they were ever coined to the above standard and purity.[2] The nominal value of the *Sonat* rupees was $\frac{5}{4}$% lower than *Sicca* rupees and that the quantity in circulation may be estimated at four hundred and fifty thousand.[3]

The Gorakhpur pice were coined at Gorakhpur by the authority of the Nawab Vizier Munsoor Aly Khan Safdar Jang. None had been coined since his time. They weighed 10½ *māshās* and were current in the southern paraganas in this Collectorship (Tirhut Collectorship) where they passed at 63 to 66 to a rupee at medium, but the variations were occasionally considerable. The quantity in circulation in this district probably amounted to the value of 20 to 25 thousand rupees.[4]

The Nepal pice were coined by the Raja of Nepal with the legend *Sittā Rāma* (*Sītā-Rāma*). They were current in the northern paraganas of the Tirhut collectorship, and weighed 9 to 9½ *māshās* and passed at 72 to 76 for a rupee. Their value, however, varied at times beyond these limits. The amount in circulation was at about 25 to 30 thousand rupees. It is very difficult to give the exact particulars of the place and origin of the coinage.

It will thus be seen that the variations in the nominal value of pice (noted above) followed those in the price of copper at Patna which was the great mart of the commerce of these districts. From an average of the copper prices at Patna for a

1. *BPP*. LXV. 48.
2. Ibid. 48.
3. Ibid. 49.
4. Ibid. 49.

number of years can alone be deduced the real value of these pice. As regards the amount of specie in circulation and the relative quantity of silver and copper coinage, there was no reason for supposing that they were otherwise than well proportioned to the wants of the people.[1]

Another Regulation that was passed on the 3rd December, 1788 directed that "from and after the 1st of next month, August, gold bullion will be received there for that purpose and coined without charge to the individuals".[2] It was further notified that from and after the next month "new milled gold money will be issued of the proper weight and standard and the gold now extant of the Calcutta coinage will be re-coined on application at the mint into gold mohurs of the new coinage, also into small money, *i e.* into halves and quarters for the convenience of individuals without any expense to them and weight will be delivered for weight,..... The new gold coin will be received by the Collectors of Revenue and other officers of government in payment of the demands of the Company."[3]

From another letter[4] dated 24th August, 1792 from the Accountant-General to the Collector of Tirhut we learn that orders were issued by the authority of the Governor-General-in Council for the purpose of establishing the gold currency in every part of the country. They were further requested to not only particularise at the end of their treasury-accounts the several species of rupees in their treasury but also to specify the component part of the balance in gold.

In 1792 Cornwallis' Government adopted bimetallism. On the 22nd of November, 1792 they issued a proclamation that "all gold mohurs of full weight with their sub-divisions coined in the Calcutta mint since the 20th of March, 1769......should be a legal tender of payment in all public and private transactions throughout the country at the rate of sixteen *sicca* rupees for each and proportionately for its sub-divisions".[5] Similarly by Regulation XXXV of 1793 gold mohurs of Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad mints with their halves and quarters were declared legal tenders.[6]

The following table[7] shows the intrinsic value of the

1. Ibid. 49. For the currency of the districts of Saran, Bhagalpur and Shahabad in the 19th decade see *BPP.* LXV. 50-54.

2. Letter from E. Hay, Secretary to Government, Fort William, 21st July, 1791 (Vide—*Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee.* Bihar, 1951-52, p. 61).

3. Ibid. 61. 4. *JBRS.* XLI. 506. 5. *BPP.* LXVIII. 54.

6. Ibid. 54; H. R. Ghosal, *Economic Transition*, 273 ff.

7. *Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee*, Bihar, 1951-52, pp. 61-62.

following specie of Rupees current in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa compared with the *Sicca* rupees from assays made in Calcutta :

Specie of Rupee	*Intrinsic value compared with the Sicca rupees* Rs.	a.	p.	*Remarks*
Sicca of Moorshidabad, Patna and Dacca per 100 (Sonat West) =(S. W.)	100	0	0	
Poley Sonats ...	100	0	0	
Delhy Mahomed Shahi per 100 S. W. ...	99	8	0	
Money Surat large per 100 S. W. ...	99	8	0	
Benares Sicca per 100 S. W. ...	99	8	0	
Bissun Arcots per 100 S.W. ...	97	14	6	Some of these rupees produced only 91-14-6
Sonat Sobie & Duckie per 100 S. W. ...	97	8	0	
French Arcots per 100 S.W. ...	97	0	0	
Auranzebee Arcots per 100 S. W. ...	96	9	6	
Madras Arcots new per 100 S.W. ...	96	4	9	
Patna Sonats old per 100 S.W.	96	0	0	
Benares Rupee old per 100 S. W. ...	95	14	6	
Madras Arcot old per 100 S.W.	95	14	6	
Farrackabad Rupees per 100 S. W. ...	95	12	9	
Calcutta & Murshidabad arcots per 100 S.W. ...	95	11	3	
Old arcots per 100 S.W. ...	95	3	3	
Dutch arcots per 100 S.W. ...	95	0	0	
Surat arcots per 100 S.W. ...	94	0	0	
Benares Tresolie per 100 S.W.	92	6	6	
Vizirey Rupee per 100 S.W.	63	0	0	
Narrany half Rupee per 100 S. W. ...	63	0	0	

Thus, after a good deal of efforts on the part of the authorities, the year 1795 saw "the long deferred triumph of

one strong will. The new and uniform currency (introduced by Cornwallis) had at last completely ousted the multitudinous, battered and debased rupees which had so long afflicted the people."[1]

All the evils, however, could not be removed in spite of the measures, referred to above. There was improvement in the situation in 1798 principally due to resumed import of silver into Bengal from outside.[2] In course of a few years, discount on gold mohurs disappeared.[3] For various reasons diverse kinds of silver coins continued after 1795. "By Act No. XVII of 1835 the silver rupee, that long remained similar in size and form, was adopted as the sole legal tender throughout the Company's dominions in India."[4] In 1841 an attempt was made to re-introduce gold coins. The discovery of this metal in Australia and California in 1848-49, however, brought down the price of gold, and Lord Dalhousie gave up the plan for good.[5]

Between 1781 and 1809, the circulation of copper coins. like a single pice and half pice, was made legal throughout Bengal Presidency and between 1807 and 1809 Benares double-pice, single pice and half-pice were issued. The copper currency, however, suffered from one defect. Various kinds of copper coins were long in circulation including some struck by blacksmiths. According to Buchanan not more than 18 pice could be usually had for a rupee in Bihar[6], i.e., a discount of six pice on the rupee. At the time of the Hajipur fair, however, the price of copper coins still rose higher. Besides, on the occasion of the busy marriage-seasons, the price still shot up on account of the great demand for change at these times[7]. While the Company's new pice were almost alone in use in urban areas, "a good many of the rude masses", called *Gorakhpuri paysās* were current in the interior of the province[8]. In addition to these *paysās* there were also *chhidāms* and *damris* in circulation. The former were equivalent to one-fourth while the latter were equivalent to one-eight of a pice[9]. In other parts of the Presidency, however, these species of copper coins were practically unknown.[10]

Thus, till Regulation III of 1831 introduced copper pie pieces there were no adequate fractional copper coins which caused inconvenience to the common people. It was, therefore,

1. Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, 321.
2. *BPP*. LXVIII, 54, H.R. Ghosal, Op. cit. 275-76.
3. Ibid. 276-77.
4. *BPP*. XLVIII. 54.
5. Ibid. 54.
6. *Patna-Gaya-Report*. ii. 701-02.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. 702.
10. *BPP*. XLVIII. 54 ; H. R. Ghosal, op. cit. 280-82.

in 1854 that the Company's Government enjoined upon the Collector to afford all facilities to the people in the markets in exchanging pice and other Government copper-coins and in receiving these for Government dues. They also decided that "a certain quantity of these coins should be lodged in the hands of each Moonsiff and Deputy Magistrate in the interior parts of each district"[1].

1. *BPP*. XLVIII. 54.

THE ANNA COIN — ITS ANTIQUITY

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Before the introduction of the Decimal system in our coinage, the *ānnā* was an important unit. But it is generally believed that it had a comparatively brief history in our monetary system; it was introduced just fifty years ago.[1] But this is not correct. The belief rests upon the fact that there was no coinage of this denomination for about eighty-ninty years, before the issue of the nickel *ānnā* coins; and people know little about the earlier issues.

However, before the introduction of the nickel *ānnā* coins, the term *ānnā* for monetary reckoning was known. It stood for one-sixteenth of a rupee. The half-rupee and quarter-rupee coins issued during the reigns of King William IV and Queen Victoria have their denominations recorded in the Persian characters as *hashta-ānnah* and *chahār-ānnah* respectively. The coins of the value of one-eighth rupee, which was issued in the reign of Queen Victoria, bear the inscription TWO ANNAS in English along with *do-ānnah* in Persian.

As early as 1806, the Honorable Court of the East India Company had written a letter to the mints in India, urging that along with half and quarter gold and silver rupees, *ānnahs* should also be coined.[2] But the matter was defered by the Committee of the Madras Mint till September 1817 On September 16 of that year, the Mint Committee recommended the minting of silver and gold coins with the exception of single *ānnahs*. But it appears that the Committee's recommendation for the exclusion of the *ānnah* was not accepted by the Governor. A proclamation dated the 9th December 1817 declared the following silver coins as the circulating medium of the Madras Presidency.[3]

Coin	Pure silver	Alloy	Total
Silver rupee	165 grains	15 grains	180 grains
,, half-rupee	82.5 ,,	7.5 ,,	90 ,,
,, quarter-rupee	41.25 ,,	3.5 ,,	45 ,,
,, eighth or double anna	20.625 ,,	1.875 ,,	22.5 ,,
,, anna	10.3125 ,,	.9375 ,,	11.25 ,,

1. The nickle *ānnā* coins came first in circulation in 1907, six years after the accession of King Edward VII.

2. Thurston, *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Co.*, p. 50-51.

3. Ibid, p. 52.

This shows that silver *ānnā* coins were issued from the Madras Mint in or after 1817. We know that the silver *ānnā* was issued in the name of Arkat Mint from the Calcutta Mint in 1818 and in 1825 from the Bombay Mint in the name of Surat Mint.[1] An *ānnā* coin is said to have been issued still earlier in 1811 from the Madras Mint,[2] inspite of the facts narrated above.

But the antiquity of the coin *ānnā* goes back even to the eighteenth century. I. Splinter Stavorninus, who was the Rear Admiral of the States General, visited India between the years 1768 and 1771. In his book *Voyage to East Indies*, he informs us, "the only current coins in Bengal, and the whole extent of Indostan, are gold and silver rupees.........When the rupees first come from the mint, they are called *siccā* rupees of the first year. Those which are coined at Moorshedabad are the current coin in which the trade of the country is carried on, and by which the other rupees in circulation are reduced. It is divided into sixteen *ānnās*.........Halves, fourths, eighths, and sixteenths of rupees are likewise coined; the last (i.e. sixteenths), as above said, are called *ānnās*."[3] This shows that in the latter half of the eighteenth century, *ānnā* was a current coin and not merely a unit of monetary reckoning.

It would be interesting to note here that Patna mint of the East India Company had issued copper coins in 1774 of the value of one and two *ānnās* for the postal use. These metallic pieces had on the obverse in English PATNA. POST. TWO ANNAS (or ONE ANNA) and on the reverse in Persian characters "*Azimābād* (Mughal name of Patna) *Dāk do ānnāh* (or *ek ānnāh*)"

Stavorninus, referring to the coinage current at Surat, says at another place, "the silver rupee is the standard coin of the country, the only one which is struck in the empire of Hindostan, and is current all over it........ Every rupee contains sixteen *ānnās*, but calculation by *ānnās* is not common here (i. e. at Surat) as in Bengal; the fractions of rupees are generally settled by pice, which is the only copper coin here."[4] This shows that *ānnā* as a coin was not popular outside Bengal Presidency. But strangely enough we have a quite contrary statement from another traveller Captain Alexander Hamilton about the currency of *ānnā* coins in Surat. In his book *A New Account of the East India*, which was first published in 1727, we have an entry as follows :

1. *Num. Chro.* (Ser. IV), Vol. III, p. 96; p. 94.
2. Ibid, p. 94.
3. Ed. London, 1798, Vol. I, p. 480.
4. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 8.

"The current money in Surat :

Bitter almonds go 32 to a pice

1 Annoe is 4 pice
1 Rupee 16 annoes

In Bengal their accounts are kept in Pice,

12 to an Annoe
16 annoes to a rupee."

This suggests that *ānnā* was equally current at Surat and Bengal.

But, that *Ānnā* as the name of a coin, was known still earlier is borne out from a passage of *Māasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, written by the secretary to the Mughal emperor Shāh Ālam Bahādur I and was completed in 1710, There is a long story of a forced march made by Prince Muhammad Azam and his son Bedar Bakht from Bengal to the emperor Aurangzeb's camp at Udaipur during the campaign against Rāṇā (1090 A. H., XXIII R. Y.). The purport of the story is that Bedar Bakht became thirsty and the princes halted at a village well for a cup of water from a peasant, who was rewarded with a couple of *asharfis*. This naturally aroused the cupidity of the rustic, who attempted to waylay the princes and was atonce laid low by an arrow from Azam's quiver. When the few followers, who were at all able to keep pace with him came up, the prince told them that the incident had brought home to him the advisibility of "having in his pocket a few *charn* and two *ānnāhs* and four *ānnāhs* of gold and silver and black (copper) *tangahs* and *cowries* also.[1] This shows that there were actual coins of gold and silver, which were known by the name of *ānnā*.

According to Hodivala, this is the only reference to *ānnā* as a coin-term known to him in the Persian chronicles.[2] But it seems that the term *ānnā* was well known to the administrators in Emperor Aurangzeb's time. Recently I came across this term used as *chahār-ānnā* (i. e. four annas) in some orders issued by the *subedars* of Malwa between the regnal years 19 and 48 (1677-1703 A. D.).[3] These instances show that the term was quite current towards the end of the seventeenth century, but it is not possible to suggest if the coin *ānnā* was issued during this period.

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1. Bible. Ind. Text, p. 185, l. 4
2. *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 101.
3. These orders were issued in favour of a poor Brahmin of Ujjain, granting him a daily subsistence allowance. They are now in the possession of the *pujārī* of the Mahākaleśvara temple at Ujjain. They were shown to me by my friend Shri Jñān Chand, who has now published them in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VI. The references to *ānnā* are mentioned there on pp. 59, 61, 63, and 64.

We have a still earlier reference of *ānnā* in 1608 A. D., in the Earl of Godolphin's award between the old and the new East India Company. There we have a clause, "provided...... that a debt due from Sir Richard Littleton......of 80,407 rupees and eight *ānnās* Money of Bengal with interest and damages to the said English Company shall still remain to them..... " But this also does not afford any clue if the *ānnā* was merely a term of reckoning in this period or was an actual coin.

Whether *ānnā* has any earlier reference in the English records or books of travels, is not known at present; but since the above passage suggests that it was used in the accounts of the East India Company before 1608, it is quite possible that the *ānnā* was in use in the reign of Akbar. But in early Muslim monetary system of India, we do not have this term. Akbar had issued a coin—one-sixteenth of a rupee, which he had called *kalā*.[1] So, it seems that this word *ānnā* had entered into the monetory system of India, not from the Muslim sources, but in all probability through the East India Company, which either picked it up from some regional language in India or imported it from outside. It would be interesting if some body traces the origin of this coin term.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, text, I. p. 261 ; Trans. Blochmann, I, 31.

MISCELLANEA

1

SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF A NEW TYPE

Under the above caption, I have discussed a silver punch-marked coin in the last number of this Journal,[1] and corrected my earlier views on it. I had then meant to give the illustration of the revised correct form of the bold symbol. But, somehow, the symbol could not be illustrated along with that note. So, I am doing it now. It is as follows and not as described earlier.[2]

I also take this opportunity to add some new information about the provenance of the coin. I had requested Shri Kishore Chand Jaria, the son of the late Shri Kesari Chand Jaria, who had obtained the coins of this type and distributed them to various private and public collections, to look into the old papers of his father and find if there was any-thing about the find-spot of these coins. He informed me after looking into those papers that two types of punch-marked coins were acquired by him during one of his sojourns, one from Lalitpur in Jhansi district and the other from Ayodhya in Fyzabad district. Then his father was informed that Ayodhya coins had come from some village in Pratapgarh district.

It appears that Shri Jaria, while selling the coins to the Lucknow Museum, had disclosed the correct provenance of the coins as Jhansi district. He might have said the same to Durga Prasad also; but it seems that the latter confused it with Pratapgarh, which the former might have told him for the other coins, while showing them to him.

This is clear from the evidence of the coins also. The other variety of the coins, then acquired by Jaria, was of the Paila type, which is a Kośala variety and which may well be identified with Ayodhya purchase. It could have been found in Pratapgaih district. The present variety, therefore, was the purchase from Lalitpur in Jhansi district and it should be identified as the coinage of that area.

P. L. Gupta

1. *J.N,S.I.*, XX, p. 64-66 2. Ibid, XV, Pl. V

2.

COINS OF JAYĀŚRAYA

The following is an interesting copper coin, picked up at Ujjain :

Roundish size ·65x.6 ; weight 36.2 grains.

Obverse. Enclosed within a beaded border, partly visible. Elephant to r. with trunk hanging and bent inside at the end,

Reverse. A big crescent ; below it, legend *Śrī-Jayāśra(ya)* in one line, below it a symbol like X placed horizontally. **Pl. XIII. 10**
(Only reverse; same size as well as an enlargement

The medial of *yā* is a little faint but can well be made out, the lower portion of this *ya* is a little battered but presents no difficulty in its proper identification. Only half the portion of the ending *ya* is visible on the coin, that too very faint. Its top is battered.

The first and the third letters with their medial vowels resemble those found in the Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi, though the form of *ja* appears to be earlier, very much similar to that found in the Girnar inscription of Aśoka. The coin on the basis of the palæography may be assigned to *circa* second century A.D. But no ruler named *Jayāśraya* is known to us ruling in this region ; its early history is however obscure.

H. V. Trivedi

3.

DEWAITHA HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS, 1940

In April 1939, 502 gold coins, including 96 coins of Gupta kings, were stolen from Patna Museum. Ultimately, a coin dealer of Bhabua who had been arrested during subsequent police investigation, was acquitted, as it was held that the coins found with him were originally, a part of a hoard found in village Dewaitha P. S. Dildarnagar in Ghazipur District.

There is reason to believe that this hoard was unearthed, early in 1940. The local authorities, apparently, got information too late to take any action. It is difficult to guess how many gold coins were contained in the hoard. Available indications show that it was a big hoard of over 400 gold coins and that they were all Gupta gold pieces.

Village Dewaitha is exactly 5 miles from Ramgarh in Ramgarh P. S in Bhabua subdivision, district Shahabad and on the left bank of the river Karamnasa, which is the boundary between Ghazipur and Shahabad districts. It is a walled-in village, rectangular in shape, nearly half a mile in length and a quarter

of a mile in width, with sides which are parallel to the four main directions. If this were its shape even during Gupta times, as is likely, local exploration might yield interesting results.

In his D. O. no. 528 dated 13 March 1941 Mr. Sheldon, I.C.S., S.D.O. of Bhabua wrote to Mr. Archer. I C. S., District Magistrate of Patna, "Reports have reached me of treasure trove being found in villages like Baijnath and Imlia, which are on the border of this subdivision and Ghazipur district". Both these villages are in Ramgarh P. S., on the right bank of the river Karamnasa.

There is also a fairly reliable though hearsay report that either in 1940 or 1941, yet another hoard was discovered at a spot about a dozen miles south of Bhabua; and that this hoard was contained in 10 pots. It is probably this hoard about which Dr. Altekar had heard and to which he made a reference in his *Guptakalina Mudraen* (p. 218), in these terms :

"शाहाबाद जिलेमें भबुआ नगरसे भी एक निधिका पता चला था। इसमें प्राय: सहस्र मुद्राएँ थीं : किन्तु एक भी उपलब्ध न हो पाई। संभवतः सब सिक्के गला दिये गये हों, अथवा छिपाकर बाजारमें बेंच डाले गये हों।"

No further information is available so far about hoards discovered at Baijnath, Imlia and at a spot some miles south of Bhabua. Yet this information will prove valuable, among other reasons, because it is generally believed that no hoards of Gupta coins were found in Bihar excepting the one at Hajipur (of 22 gold coins, discovered sometime before 1893).

An attempt[1] is being made to collect details of such coins as could be traced to the Dewaitha hoard, in order to form a better idea of its contents.

S. V. Sohoni

4.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE COINAGE OF VRAMALĀTA AND VYAGHRAMUKHA

The *Niśīthachūrṇi*,[2] a Jain work of about the 7th century A.D., refers to the Silver Coinage of Bhīnmal, as follows :—

रूप्पमयं जहा भिल्लमाले चम्मलातो ।

1. [My information on this hoard was hearsay one, guardedly given to me by different parties who often contradicted one another. On the strength of further confused information gathered between 1954 and 1956, I have modified the above account in the Coinage of the Gupta Empire as follows :— At Devattha village, in Balia district of U. P. a big hoard was reported to have been found in c. 1940 consisting of more than a thousand Gupta coins. No coins however could be recovered ; they were either melted down or concealed and sold later in the market. The enquiry that Mr. S. V. Sohoni is conducting may enable us to arrive at the possible truth in the matter. *A. S. A.*]

2. U. P. Shah, *Journal of M. S. University of Baroda*, III (i), 1954, p. 56; L. C. Jain, *JUPHS.*, Lucknow, Old Series, XVIII, p. 67, f. n. 105.

The palaeography of the period shows that *va* and *cha* were undistinguishable and so we can also read this statement as :—

रुप्पमयं यथा भिल्लमाले वग्मलातो ।

'Bhillamāla' of the passage is obviously modern Bhīnmāl, the capital of the Gurjaras for a long time and situated about 120 miles south of Jodhpur. But the identification of *Charmalāta* or *Varmalāta* bristles with difficulties. Suprabhadeva, the grandfather of the famous poet Māgha, who was a resident of Bhīnmal, was a protege of King Varmalāta of that city.[1] A king named Varmalāta is also mentioned in the Vasantagarh (Sirohī) Inscription[2] of V. S. 682 (=625 A. D.). It is therefore probable that the *Chūrṇi* refers to the silver coinage of this ruler.

To which dynasty king Varmalāta belongs is not known as yet. The epigraphs of the Chāpa or Chāvotkaṭa dynasty place Vanarāja, its founder, in *Circa* 750 A. D. But it appears that history of the dynasty went further back by about a century because the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta refers to a king called Vyāghramukha[3] of the *Chāpa Vaṃśa* as ruling at Bhīnmāl in 628-9 A. D. :—

श्री चापवंशतिलके श्री व्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाणाम् ।
पंचाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतीतैः ॥७॥
ब्राह्मःस्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जनगणितगोलवित्प्रीत्यै ।
त्रिंशद्वर्षेण कृतो जिष्णुसुत ब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥८॥

Silver coinage of Vyāghramukha has already been published by V. A. Smith[4] who assigns the ruler to the Chāpa dynasty. It is not impossible that king Varmalāta of the *Chūrṇi* and the Vasantagarh Inscription was identical with Vyāghramukha, the latter being a *biruda* (epithet) of the former as also we notice in respect of Vatsarāja and Bhojadeva assuming magnanimous titles such as *Raṇahastin*[5] and *Adi-Varāha*[6] respectively on their coins and also presenting respective animals thereupon i.e. an elephant and a boar in hybrid form. The depiction of a lion (*vyāghra*) on the obverse of the coins of Vyāghramukha cited above appear to be a point of additional confirmation in this direction.

R. C. Agrawala

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1. According to the *Śiśupālavadha Mahākāvya*, verse 1 just after Canto 20.
2. *E. I.* IX, pp. 191-2. Vasantagarh is not very far from Bhīnmāl.
3. G. H Ojha, *History af Rājputānā* Hindi Vol. I, 1927, pp. 56, 145-6.
4. *JRAS.*, London, 1907, pp. 91 and 923 ; cf. A. M. T. Jackson, Ibid, p. 413. The obverse of these coins presents a tiger to the left and a trident in front of it ; the legend below being *Vyāghramukha* The animal on the reverse, as pointed out by Smith, has been suggested by my friend A.K. Narain, to be a 'horseman'.
5. *JNSI.*, XVIII (2), pp. 223-3 ; *ABORI.*, Poona, XVIII, pp. 396-8.
6. *JNSI.*, XVIII (i), pp. 69-70. The coins were even known as the *Ādivarāha Drammas*.

5.

A GOLD MUHR OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ

In September 1956 a hoard of 29 gold, 4 silver and 1 copper coins, was found as Treasure Trove in village Pipargaon, Tehsil and District Farrukhabad and was forwarded to me for examination and disposal in accordance with Treasure Trove Rules as framed by the State Government under Treasure Trove Act. The gold Coins comprised issues of two Pathan Kings of Dehli—Alau-d-din Muhammad Shah II (3) and Muhammad III Bin Tughlaq (26). The silver coins represented the issues of the latter king while the copper coin was an extremely worn out issue of some Mughal Emperor whose name could not be deciphered. Of these a gold Muhr of Muhammad III Bin Tughlaq was found remarkable and was, therefore, acquired for the State Museum, Lucknow, wherein it is now preserved. It was struck by Muhammad Tughlaq in the name of his father Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlaq from the mint town of Qutubabad in the year (72)5 A.H. and is described as under :—

Register No. 11428

Metal	- Gold	Weight	- 170 grs.
Shape	- Round	Mint	. Qutubabad
Size	- .95″	Date	- (72)5 A.H.

Legend - *Obverse*		*Reverse*
السلطان	In Circle	ابو المظفر
السعد الشهيد		تغلقشاه السلطان
الغازى غياث الد[نيا]		انار الله برهانه
والدين		

Margin

[ضرب هذا السكه] فى بلدة قطب اباد

سنه خمس و [عشرين و سبعمائه]

Pl. XIV. 5.

The specimen has its parallel in coin No 476 of the catalogue of coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the Dehli Museum by Wright with the difference that while on the latter the word Alsayeed is written as السعيد on the former it is written as السعد i.e. without ye (ى) thus making it read as *Alsaad* (السعد). Although this omission of Ye (ى) from the word is not a mistake but a peculiarity of the cursive way of writing Persian script, still the coin offers a new variety and deserves attention of the scholars interested in Muslim numismatics.

M. M. Nagar

6.

ON THE COINS OF NURJAHAN

In the last issue of this *Journal,*[1] C. R. Singhal has published a note entitled 'On the coins of Empress Nūrjahān', with a view to supplementing the paper of the late Professor Hodivala published earlier under the title "The coins bearing the name of Nūrjahān.[2] In this note he has pointed out that Nūrjahān "instead of calling herself as Nūrjahān Begum on her coins, styles herself as Nūrjahān Bādshāh Begum or Nūrjahān Bādshāh in the same manner as Akbar Bādshāh, Jahāngīr Bādshāh and so on." He infers from this that "she had assumed complete sovereignty over the State."

It goes without saying that though Nūrjahān was not *de jure* ruler of the Mughal empire, she was *de facto* ruler behind the name of her husband.[3] And Shri Singhal is not the first to infer this status of her from the couplet-legends of her coins. *Pādishāh* or *Bādshah Begum* of the couplet legends has been interpreted variously. Marsden thought that it meant *Imperatris Consors*. Blochmann opined that it should be translated as *Imperatrix, Queen Begum.*[4] Dowson's rendering is 'Queen Begum'. Whitehead has adopted the simple English word *Empress*. But none of them seems to me accurate in their interpretation.

Bādshah Begum was a title which was conferred in the Mughal *harem* to the first lady of the Court of Empire, the individual who, in the feminine world, took precedence to all other women, as the emperor did, of all other men. She need not be the wife either of the reigning or of the deceased emperor. There is an excellent authority for saying that this title was borne by Shah Jahan's eldest daughter princess Jahānārā. Khāfī Khān gives her this appellation at least twice in his chronicle.[5] Manucci says that Aurangzeb conferred on her the title '*Pacha Begam*' (*Bādshāh Begum*).[6] Travernier also states that Aurangzeb commanded that she should bear the title of Princess Queen (*Cha Begam*[7] i. e. *Shāh Begum*). Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I had conferred this title on Zebu-n-nissa, his own half-sister and the full sister of Azam Shah.[8]

1. Vol. XX, p. 42-45.
2. N. S. XLII, p. 59-68
3. [Shri P.L Gupta has missed the real point that Nurjahan was not only *de facto* ruler but was in fact *de jure* ruler as has been rightly pointed out by C. R. Singhal—*A.K N.*]
4. *Proc* A.*S B*, 1869, p. 255.
5. Khāfī Khān, Text, II, p. 77, l. 19 ; p. 110, l.13.
6. Irvine, *Storia*, II, p. 127.
7. *Travels (*trans. Ball), p. 376.
8. Khāfī Khān, Text, II, p. 30, l. 3 ; p. 600, l, 10 ;p. 375, second line from the foot ; p. 736, l. 1

These make it clear that the title *Bādshāh Begum* of Nūrjahān, has nothing to do with her resuming the regnal power, nor was it meant to show what Mr. Singhal has tried to interpret. It was, in all probability, conferred upon her after the death of her mother-in-law, Jahangir's mother, Miriam Zamānī, in 1032 A. H.[1]

P. L. Gupta.

7.

A SILVER RUPEE OF SHAH ALAM I BAHADUR IN HIS PRINCELY NAME MUAZZAM SHAH

In the year 1928-29 a silver rupee of Shah Alam I Bahadur was acquired for the State Museum, Lucknow, from out of a hoard of 62 silver coins found as treasure trove in village Pirona, Pargana Konch, District Jalaun. This coin being of special interest, is now being published here for the first time. It can be described as under :—

Register no. 7563

Metal—Silver	Weight—175 grains
Shape—Round	Mint — Azimabad
Size —·9″	Date —Ahd

Legend—Obverse	—Reverse
ثانی	مانوس سنه احد
شاه عالمگیر	میمنت
معظـــم	اباد جلوس
صاحب قرانی	عظیـــم
سکه	ضرب
زد	

Pl. XIV. 3

Couplet

سکه زد بر زر چو صاحب قرانی
معظم شاه عالم گیر ثانی

1. [Nur Jahan was not only a *de facto* but also a *de jure* ruler of the Mughal Empire because she was appointed sovereign of the State by a special declaration or ordinance issued by the King.

2. It should be borne in mind that Nur Jahan was not the *first lady* of the court or empire, the first lady being Saliba Banu. Jahangir had first married Saliba Banu Begum. Mehrul-Nisa (Nur Jahan) was married to Jahangir in the 6th year after his accession but her name is first mentioned in the Tuzuk only in the Diary of the 9th year. In the 10th year of his reign, the title of "Nur Jahan" and *no other title* was bestowed upon her. She became chief queen only after the death of Saliba Banu in the 15th year. Moreover this title of Badshah Begum was not conferred as a rule on every *first lady* of the court. It was an honorary title given to a princess out of love and respect for her. Nur Jahan's case is quite contrary to it and there is no evidence to show that such a title was even conferred upon her. She assumed the title of *Bādshāh* when complete sovereignty was bestowed upon her and she started issuing coins in her own name.
—*C.R.S.*]

Translation "Struck coin on gold like Sahib-i-Qiran
"Muazzam Shah, the Second Alamgir.

The present coin of Shah Alam I Bahadur was issued by him in his princely name, Muazzam Shah with the title of Alamgir Sani before his succeeding the throne, and offers a new type in the series of his silver coinage issued from mint Azimabad. The coin has its nearest parallel in coin no. 2091 of Whitehead's Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Punjab Museum, but the latter was issued from mint Murshidabad. Besides, there is difference in the obverse and reverse legends of both the coins. In the Punjab Museum coin the word Alamgir (عالم گیر) on the obverse has *mim* (م) in full, i. e. *Alam* and *gir* are written separately whereas in the coin under review this word is distinctly written as one *Alamgir* (عالمگیر). Similarly the juxta-position of the legends on the reverse side of the two coins, is also quite different —the Punjab Museum coin having the legend as مانوس while

میمنت
احد جلوس
سنه
ضرب
مرشدآباد

The Lucknow Museum coin having it as

مانوس سنه احد
میمنت
اباد جلوس
عظیـــم
ضرب

Attention is also invited to a silver rupee of this Emperor issued from Azimabad mint published in the Numismatic Supplement No. XV, article No. 89, pp. 658, coin No. 18. The coin under discussion varies from this specimen as well, as on the obverse of this latter specimen appears the word " غاز " instead of " عالم " as noticed on our coin—although this proposed reading of " غاز " on that coin seems to be incorrect. Moreover, on the reverse of the coin referred to above the word "سنه" is inscribed above "احد" whereas on the specimen under review this word is found below "احد". The present coin is, therefore, a very rare and important one as it offers a new type in the silver coinage of Shah Alam I Bahadur issued by him from mint Azimabad.

M. M. Nagar

8.

SOME COPPER COINS OF THE LATER BAHMANI KINGS

Although the Bahmani Kings ruling after Muhammad Shah III (867-887 A.H. = 1463 – 1482 A.D.) were nominal rulers, their copper coins are found in variety and abundance. These coins had been the subject of study of many numismatists. The comprehensive articles of Major H. M. Whittell (*Num. Supp., J.A.S.B.*, No. 234 ; Vol. XXXVII for 1923) and Prof. E.E. Speight (*Islamic Culture*, April 1935) mention most of the types. Mr. Hurmuz Kaus has also brought to light some of the rare coins of these kings. In my collection. there are some coins of these kings which have not yet been reported.

1. *A copper coin of Mahmūd Shah Bahmani* :— (887-924. A. H. = 1482 – 1518. A. D.) The unique coin, described by Mr. Hurmuz Kaus in his article namely 'An unpublished coin of Mahmūd Shah Bahmani' (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIX, Part I for 1957), shows the continuity of the legend from the obverse to the reverse. I possess two coins of this type, out of which one bears the legend exactly similiar to that of the aforesaid coin. The other coin bears slightly different legend on the obverse. The description of the coin is as follows :—

Metal.	Copper.
Size.	0.65″ diam.
Weight.	82. grains. (5.3348. grams)

Obverse,	*Reverse,*
المتوكل على	شاه سلطان
الله المغنى	خلد ملكه
ابوالمغازى	و سلطانه
[محمود]	**Pl. XIV. 6**

In the legend on the obverse of the coin, the word 'Al-Mughni' (meaning 'the Enricher') occurs instead of the word 'Al-Manān' (meaning The Benefactor) found on Mr. Hurmuz's coin. The novelty of the coin lies in respect that the legend on the obverse ends with one part of the name of the king-Mahmūd, while the other part of the name—Shāh Sultān appears at the beginning of the legend on the reverse and is followed by the usual prayer, خلد ملكه وسلطانه (may his kingdom and kingship perpetuate). The appearance of the name and the regal title separately on the obverse and the reverse respectively, is uncommon on the coins of the Bahmani kings, although such a device is found on the coins of the Delhi Sultans, specially on the coins of Muhammad Tughluq.

2. *A copper coin of Wali'ullah Bahmani.* (929 A. H. = 1522 A. D.)

The legend which has been recorded on the large size copper coins of Wali'ullah Bahmani, contains المويد بنصر الله الملک القوی الغنی on the obverse and السلطان ولی الله بن محمود شاه البهمنی on the reverse. I have a coin in my collection whose weight, metal, and size is similiar to that of the above-mentioned common type, but the legend on the obverse of the coin is slightly different. Following are the details of the coin :

Metal :	Copper.
Size :	0.85 inch.
Weight :	260 grains.

Obverse,	*Reverse,*
المويد بنصرالله	ولی الله
الملک الغنی	السلطان بن
	محمود شاه
	البهمنی **Pl. XIV. 7**

The legend of the obverse of the coin shows the absence of the word 'Al-Qavi' as found on the coins of the common type. Moreover, the word 'Al-Malik' occurs in the lower row, unlike the common type where it is found in the upper row.

3. *A copper coin Kalīm'ullah Bahmani,* the last Bahmani king.

Metal :	Copper.
Size :	0.65″
Weight :	85 grains (5.5224 grams),

Obverse,	*Reverse,*
علی الله	کلیم الله
المتوکل	السلطان **Pl. XIV. 8**

The recorded inscriptions on the copper coins of this lower denomination of Kalīm'ullah Bahmani, contain المويد بنصر الله on the obverre and کلیم الله السلطان on the reverse respectively. In this particular coin of my cabinet, the legend of the reverse is the same as found on the coins of the common type, but the reading of the obverse is different. Earlier Mr. Hurmuz Kaus has recorded similiar legends on the copper coins of higher denominations of this king. He recorded the inscriptions of المتوکل علی الله العادل القوی الغنی and المتوکل علی[1] الله العادل الغنی on the obverse of the coins. (*J.N S.I.*, Vol VII, Part I and II for 1945)

1. [Mr. Hurmuz had missed to record this word in his second legend though it can he read on the rubbing of the coin illustrated by him—*C.R.S.*]

On all these coins the legend of the obverse commences with المتوكل على الله This similiarity suggests that this coin forms the lower denomination of the series of which the other types have been reported by Mr. Hurmuz. This series of three types is comparable with a similiar series (also consisting of three types) having المؤيد بنصر الله legend on the obverse.

Abdul Hameed Siddiqui

9.

A NEW LEGEND ON THE COPPER COIN OF MOHAMAD III (BAHMANI).

Mohamad III. (Shamssuddin Muhmad s/o Humayun Shah Bahamani) was the thirteenth Sultan of Bahamani kingdom of the Deccan, who ruled from 867 to 887 A. H. Only two types of his coins with different legends have been published by Dr. Speight in the *Islamic Culture* of April 1935. Since then, no other type or legend was found on the copper coins of this Sultan so far. The two published legends are given below :

	Obverse	*Reverse*
	بالله	محمد شاه
(1)	المعتصم	بن همايونشاه
	شمس الدنيا	السلطان
	والدين ابو المظفر	
(2)	بن	محمدشاه
	همايونشاه	

Besides the above, I came across a new legend on the copper coin of Sultan Mohamad III, during my search for Bahmani coins in the metal scraps with the local Brass and Copperware dealers. The coin has been purchased and is in my possession now. The new legend on this coin reads as follows :

Obverse	*Reverse*
بالله	محمد شاه
المعتصم	بن همايونشاه
ابوالمظفر	السلطان

Pl. XIV. 11

The coin is of medium size ·65″, round in shape and weighs. 83. grs.

So this is a new legend on the copper coins of Sultan Mohamad III, son of Humayun Shah Bahamani, so far unpublished and thus one more addition to the total legend of the Bahmani copper coins.

Dinkar Rao

10.

A UNIQUE COPPER COIN OF MUHAMMAD QULI QUTUB SHAH OF GOLCONDA.

Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah was the fifth king of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda, who ruled from 988 to 1020 A. H. He was the founder of the Hyderabad City. He was very fond of architecture and the famous edifice, Chārminār, situated in the heart of the city, was constructed during his regime.

There are two types of copper coins struck in his name. One earlier, with the couplet struck in 991 A. H. minted at Golconda, the capital of Qutub Shahi kings :

1. *Obverse* *Reverse*

عدل محمد قلي قطبشاہ ضرب دارالسلطنت ۹۹۱ گولکنڈہ تعیردہ فلوس شاہی پوستہ بلعنت الہی

The other dated 1012 A.H. minted later in Hyderabad City, after its foundation :

2. *Obverse* *Reverse*

ضرب دارالسلطنت حیدرآباد سنہ ۱۰۱۲ ابوالمظفر محمد قلی قطبشاہ

The first type of coins are of two shapes–square and round, while the other type is round only. On the first type of coin, the couplet is inscribed on the obverse and the name of the king and the mint with the date 991 (A.H.) on the reverse. On the other type, the name of the king on one side and the name of the mint with date 1012 on the other side. Both these types are massive and thick. They have been published by Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad in *Numismatic Circular*, London of May 1955.

I have found another unique copper coin of this Sultan, on which the first half of the couplet is found on the obverse and the other half on the reverse. The name of the Sultān does not appear in the legend at all.

3. *Obverse* *Reverse*

تعیردہ فلوس شاہی **Pl. XIV. 10.** پیوستہ بلعنت الہی

The meaning of this legend is 'one who finds fault with (dishonours) this coin, the wrath (curse) of the god be upon him'.

The couplet is very interesting. The coin is rather oval and thin weighing about 54 grs. It is so far unpublished and is unique.

Dinkar Rao

11.

A COPPER COIN OF THE LAST AMIR BARID OF BIDAR

The coins of Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar are scarce. The reason for this scarcity may be that the copper coins of Bahamani kings, predecessors of the Barid Shahi dynasty, were numerous and might have been in circulation for a long time after the fall of the Bahamini kingdom. Besides, the area ruled by Barid Shahi kings was limited. While the Bahamani copper coins are found in abundance among the metal scraps that come to the copper and brass were dealers of Hyderabad from the surrounding areas, the coins of Barid Shahi kings are scarcely found in them.

Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad, had published the copper coins of Ibrahim Barid Shah in the Society's Journal of 1945 (Vol. VII part I and II). He had illustrated therein, his own collection of 22 Barīdshāhi coins and as there were some dated coins showing the A.H. year 993[1] on them (which falls within the period of the reign of Ibrahim Barid) he assigned them to Sultan Ibrahim Barid, 4th Amir of this dynasty.

During my recent search for some Bahamani coins I came across three Barid Shahi copper coins and on one of them the date 1018 was clearly inscribed. The other two coins showed the figure of 18 only, which indicated that the two previous figures had been cut off, being off the flan during minting, a common feature in hand-minted coins. Except for the date 1018, the legend, shape and size of all the three coins are the same as found on the published copper coins of Ibrahim Barid.

The following is the description of the coin bearing the date 1018 clearly :

Weight : 259 grs. shape – circulal. size : .8″

Obvers	*Revers*
[الله]	[العادل
بنصر	السلطان]
[ا]لموید الـ[ملک]	[بامـ]ر برید شاه
[ا]لقوے الغنی	۱۰۱۸

Pl. XIV. 9.

The complete legend is read as follows :—

بامر برید شاه السلطان العادل—المويد بنصر الله الملک القوے الغنی

1. [Date 993 is not found on all the coins illustrated by Mr. Hurmuz. Some of them show different dates such as No. 8 shows the figure ۲, No. 9 figures ۱۷, No. 15 figures ۹۷ as pointed out by Dr. Altekar. These should be assigned to the respective Amīrs Mr. Hurmuz says that coins No. 16-22 bear date 993 but we do not find any date on coin No. 20-21. *C .R. S.*]

There were seven Amirs of the Barīd shāhi dynasty and last of them Sultan Amir Barid Shah II ruled from 1010-1018 H. The king was addicted to various vices and utterly neglected the administration of his kingdom. In 1018 H. Mirza Ali, an adventurous nobleman of his court, usurped the throne and the Sultan fled away from Bidar. Thus the rule of Barīd Shāhi dynasty of Bidar terminated in the year 1018 H.

Mr. Hurmuz Kaus had already pointed out in his article on the Barid Shahi coins (*J.N.S.I.* Vol. VII) that the Barid Shahi kings used their title (Barid Shah) on their coins and not their proper names and it is only from the dates on the coins that they can be attributed to a particular king of this dynasty.

As the date 1018 A.H. is clearly read on the coin and its fabric, size and legend are similar to the other Barid Shahi coins, this coin may be assigned to Sultan Amir Barid II, the last Amir of the Barīd shāhi dynasty and to the last year of his reign.

So far, the copper coins of one king of Barīd Shāhi Dynasty, viz., Ibrahim Barid Shāh were known. This is the second one known now.

Dinkar Rao

12.

A COUNTERMARKED RUPEE OF EMPRESS VICTORIA

Shri U. Batuvantudave of Colombo (Ceylon) sent me some time back a rubbing of the obverse of an Indian rupee of Empress Victoria of 1887 **(Pl. XIV, 12)**, which bears a countermark of a crown with the letter PM in capitals below. No published reference is known of this type of counterstriking of Indian coins. So, I referred it to the Master of the Government of India Mint, Bombay.

He has very kindly informed me that the Portuguese Government used to surcharge Indian Government rupees with the letters PM with or without a crown. PM meant either "Portuguese Mozambique" or "Portuguese Maritama".

He gave an additional information that the indigenous bankers in India also used to put some of their own marks on the obverse of rupee coins in token of their having been considered genuine by them. Such coins as well as coins marked 'PM' were called "shroff-marked" coins and were acceptable at their face value prior to demonetation of standard silver coins.

P. L. Gupta.

NOTES AND NEWS

1. ON SHRI C. R. SINGHAL'S 'SOME NEW COINS FROM JAIPUR'

1. *A Communication from Mr. A. N. Botham,*

The octagonal coin described in paragraph (B) 2 of the article on Some New Coins from Jaipur at p. 49 *JNSI.* XX. pt. I and attributed to Bir Singh Deo of Datiya state in Bundelkhand by the author, is actually a well known coin of the Ahom Raja, Rajeśvara Siṁha, struck at Rungpur (the Ahom Capital in Sibsagar District) in the Śaka year 1685. It was described by Dr. John Allan in his article On the Coinage of Assam in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1909 and was figured as Plate IV. 8 of the 1930 *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam.*

Shri Singhal's reply :

'As regards the octagonal coin I am surprised to know that it belongs to Ahom dynasty. I have seen Allan's article and the date given by him for this ruler is Śaka 1751-69. How will it fit in with date 1685 found on my coin ? It is very strange that they issued coins in Persian script and language than their own.'

2. SOME CORRECTIONS

1. *JNSI. XX. pt. 1.*

Add the following on **p. 1 line 9.**
Weight : 11 grains

2. *JNSI. XX. pt. 1.*

Miscellanea 10. **p. 82.**

Correct the 3rd line of the legend on the Reverse of the coin as : *B (E)-RU (N)-DA*

Miscellanea 11., **p. 83.,** 3rd paragraph, last but one line :
Read and **for** or

p. 83., 6th paragraph, 3rd line after Pondicherry :

Add J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Miscellanea 12., **p. 85.**, paragraph 4, last line :

Read Ikkeri **for** Ikkesi

Read Nagara **for** Nagar except in para 4 where it is Nagara.

3. Dr. U. P. SHAH ON MAITRAKA COINS

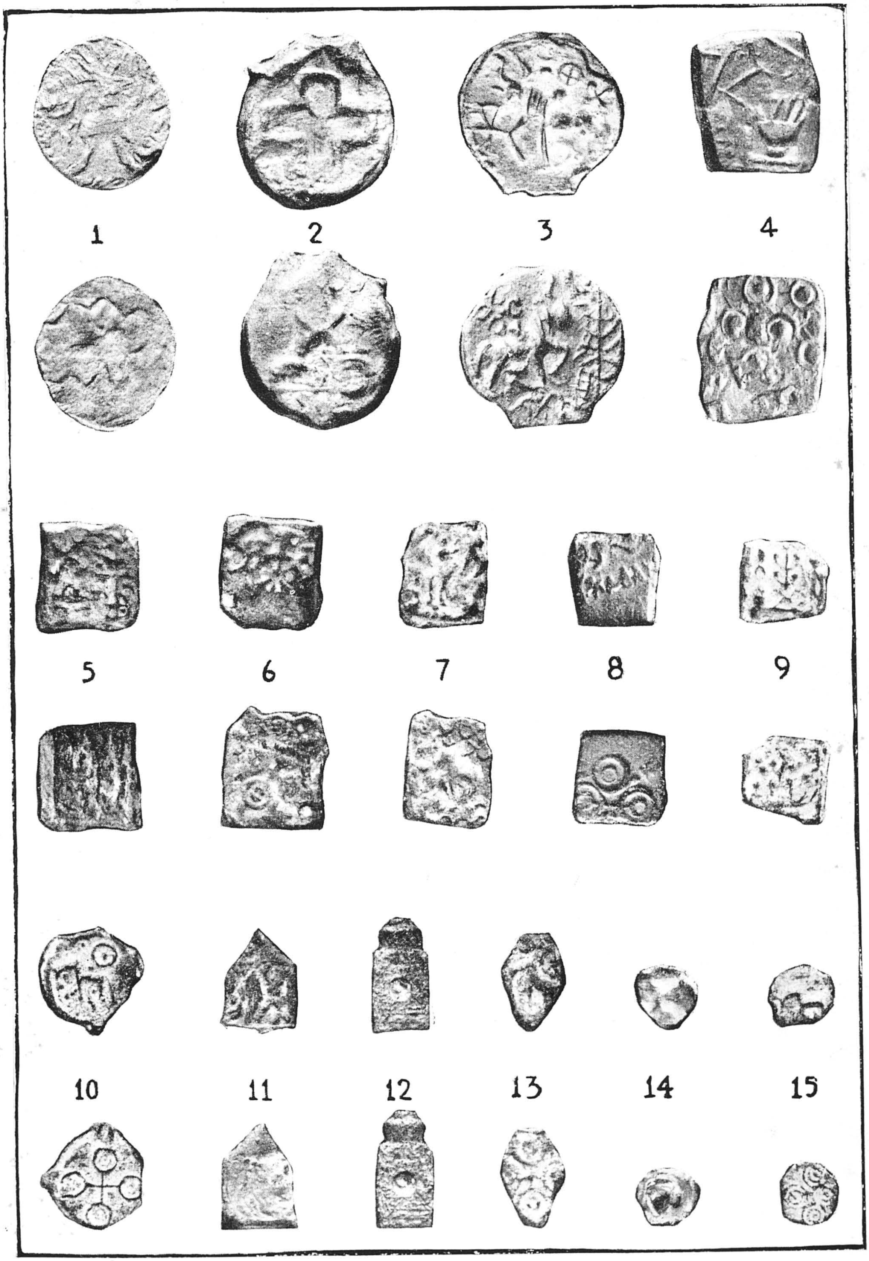
Dr. U. P. Shah, Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, is engaged on preparing a detailed study of the (so-called) Valabhi or Maitraka coins. He shall feel grateful if museum and private collectors help him by giving information about the coins of the said series in their collection.

4. SUPPLEMENTS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHPY OF INDIAN COINS, PARTS I AND II

Supplements to C. R. Singhal's *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Parts I and II, are under preparation. Mrs. Sudha Narain is doing it for the Part I and Shri C. R. Singhal himself is doing for the Part II. Informations and suggestions will be very thankfully acknowledged by the respective compilers if they are sent at the addresses given below :

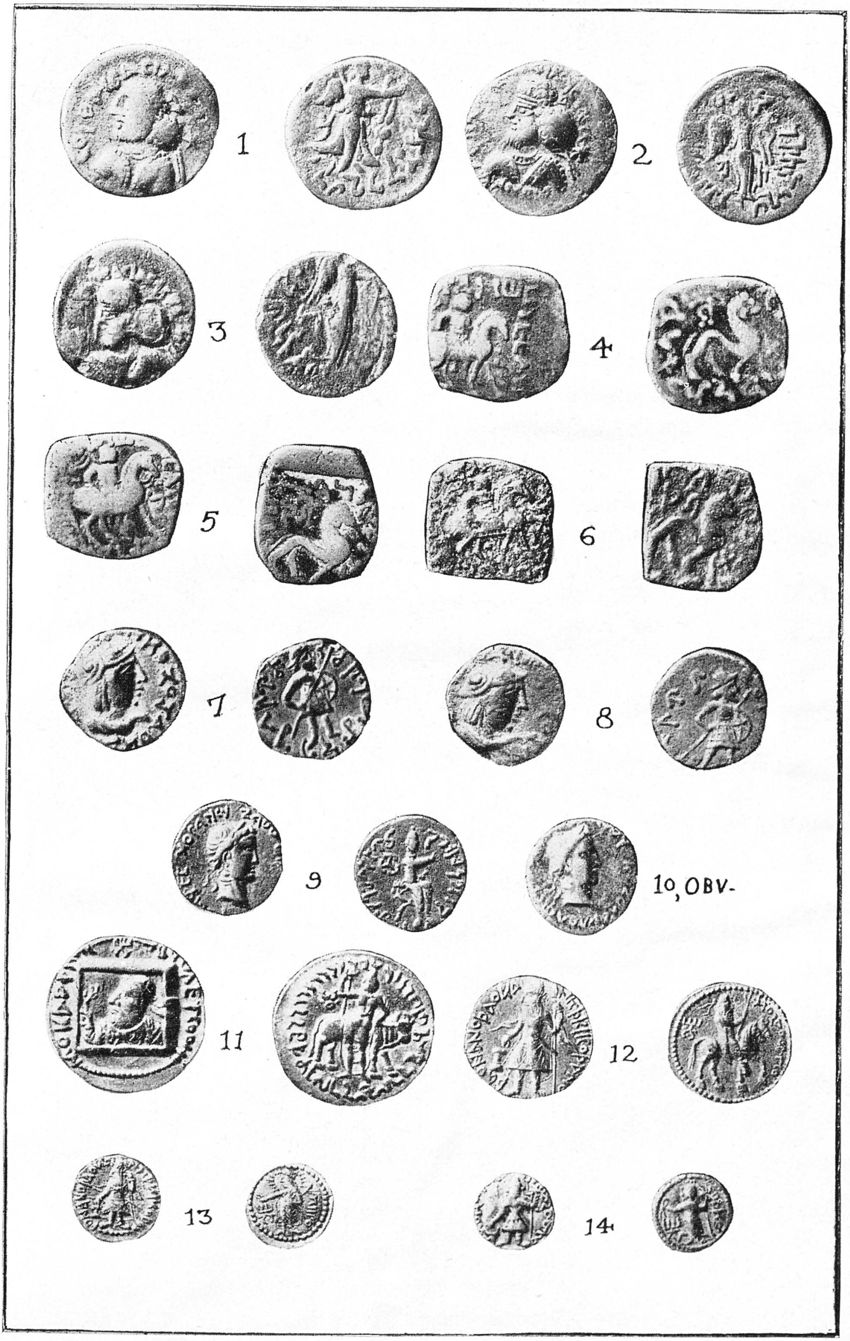
For Part I ; Mrs. Sudha Narain, M.A.
Lecturer, Womens College, B. H. U.
F/4 OLD, P. O. Hindu University,
VARANASI—5

For Part II ; Shri C. R. Singhal,
20 Station Road
BOMBAY—23.

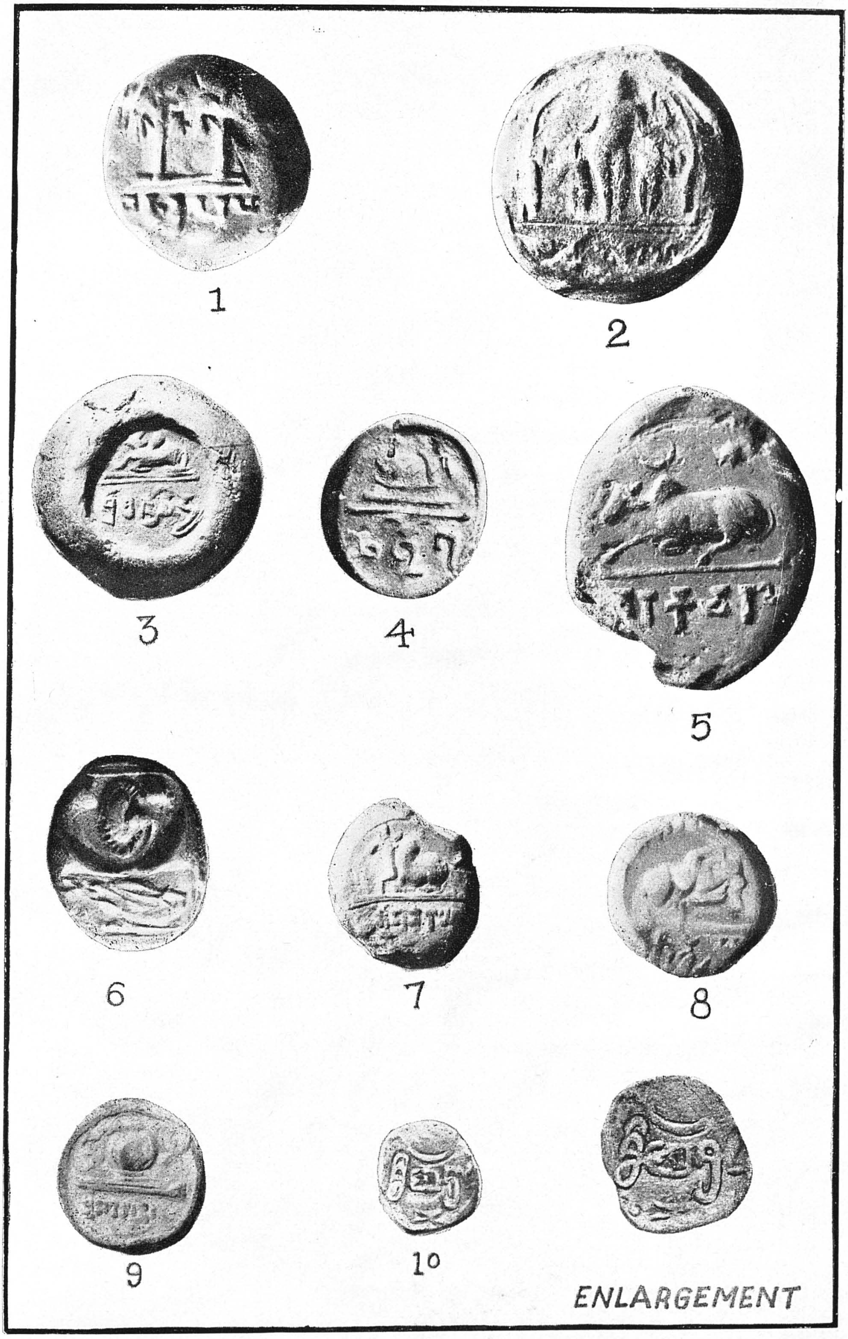


Some New Coins from Kauśāmbī.

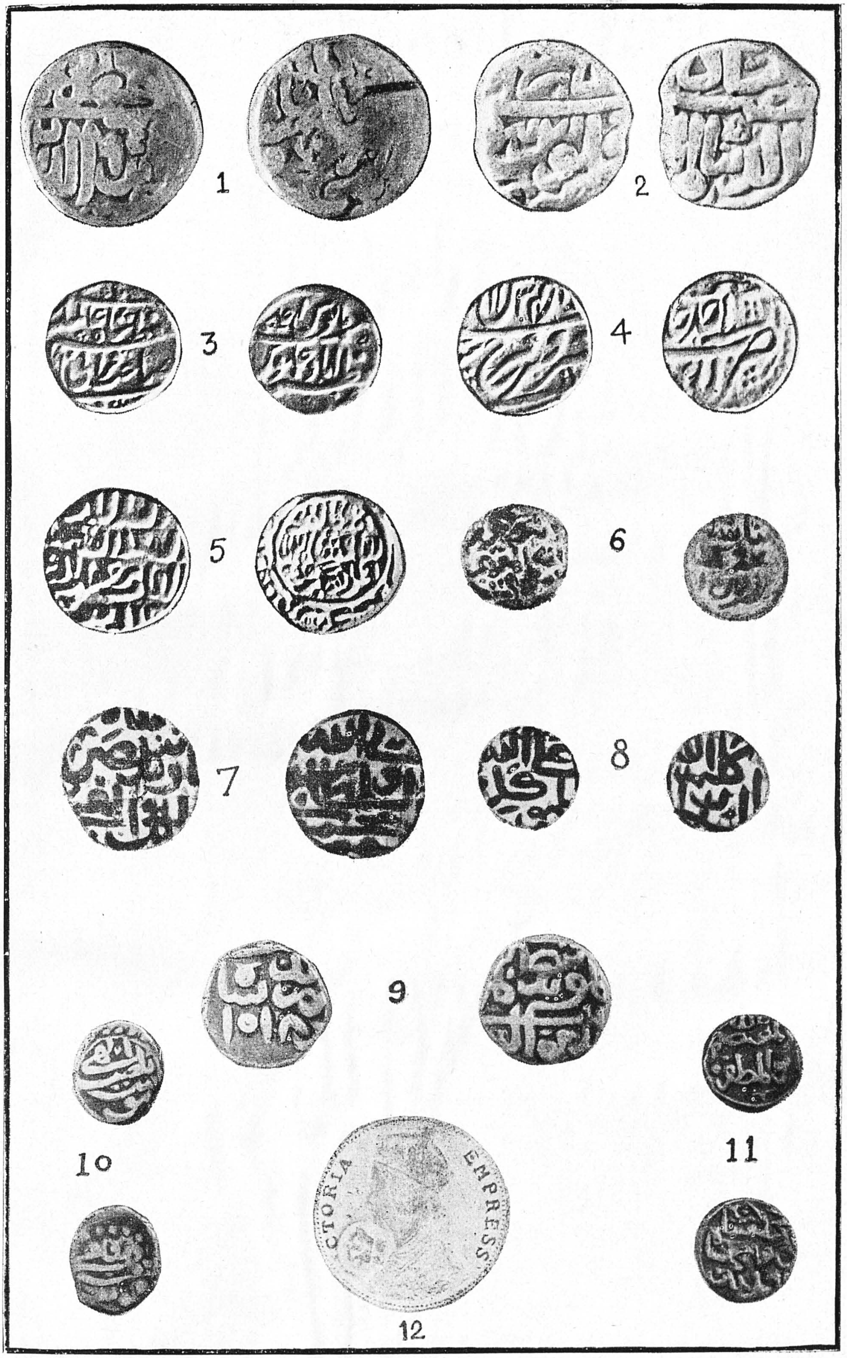
Śaka and Pahlava Coins from the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.



Pahlava and Kushāṇa Coins from the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.



1-9, Religious Sealings from Rajghat.
10, A coin of Jayāśraya with an enlargement.



1-5, Mohammadan Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow ; 6-8, Copper coins of the Later Bahmani Kings ; 9, Copper coin of the Last Amir Barid of Bidar ; 10, Copper coin of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda ; 11, Copper coin of Mohammad III (Bahmani) ; 12, A Counter-marked Rupee of Victoria

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a' ع ; ẓ ظ ; ṭ ط ; ẓ ض ; ṣ ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ; z ز ; ṛ ڑ ; r ر ; z ذ
; y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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